

Messieurs Les présidents.

Les problèmes de cultures et de langues sont des problèmes qui ne préoccupent depuis plus de vingt ans.

Avant de venir au Canada, il y a onze ans je vivais en Bretagne, nation minoritaire au sein de la France, qui ne bénéficiait d'aucun avantage politique semblable à ceux des Canadiens Français et même d'aucun avantage culturel. La langue bretonne n'était pas enseignée puisque "Pour l'unité de la France la langue bretonne doit disparaître" (Anatole de Monzie, alors ministre de l'éducation nationale). Les politiciens jacobins centralisateurs nous abondaient d'énormités semblables à celles d'un ministre actuel de la Colombie Britannique pour lequel dans sa province "tous les problèmes de minorités dont le monde appartient à la majorité" (Le Devoir 26 août 1963).

Dans ce climat j'ai essayé de faire entendre la voix de la Bretagne. et cela m'a valu quatre mois d'internement administratif" (je suppose que vous goûtez la saveur de la formule). J'en suis d'ailleurs très fier.

J'ai été un des co-fondateurs de l'Union Bretonne des fédéralistes, au sein de l'Union européenne des fédéralistes dont Ch. Emile Spaak, premier ministre de Belgique était le président. J'ai représenté la Bretagne au Congrès des minorités européennes tenu au Palais de Chaillot à Paris et j'ai suivi les activités de cet organisme pendant plusieurs années.

J'ai aussi été secrétaire du congrès Intercoltique dont les buts uniquement culturels se rapprochent de ceux poursuivis par votre commission. J'ai assisté à trois congrès internationaux de cet organisme, l'un à Dublin, l'autre à Quimper, l'autre à Danjor.

Tout ceci pour vous dire que les problèmes de culture ne me sont pas étrangers: ils me poursuivent depuis ma naissance..... et j'ai quarante ans.

Je pense donc que mon intervention dans le débat peut être utile et je vous sou mets bien respectueusement quelques commentaires.

UNE CONSTATATION

FRANCE

PRELIMINAIRES

Je dois tout d'abord vous faire part d'une constatation étrange. J'ai conservé tous les articles parus dans "Le Devoir" sur le biculturalisme depuis le 23 janvier 1963, j'ai aussi certains articles du Soleil, du Financial Post, de "The Gazette", de la Revue Maclean et de revues telles que Relations et Maintenant ou Cité Libre..... Dans aucun d'entre eux je n'ai encore trouvé une étude sur les raisons pour lesquelles il faut - ou il ne faut pas - être unilingue, bilingue ou multilingue. Le mandat de votre commission ne prévoit rien dans ce sens: il vous impose, ou presque, le biculturalisme sans même savoir si c'est là une solution juste.... sans même savoir si c'est possible de le justifier par d'autres arguments que des motifs sentimentaux, politiques ou linguistiques.

ÊTRE AU SERVICE

DE L'HOMME

Si votre commission veut atteindre les seuls buts valables qu'elle puisse se proposer, elle ne doit pas être au service d'un gouvernement fédéral ou provincial, ni au service d'hommes aux objectifs restreints tels que le salut de la langue pour la langue, le salut de

la langue pour la conservation de certaine forme de religion etc.... elle doit être au service de l'homme.

Au cours des derniers mois écoulés les hommes ont montré plusieurs fois leur étroitesse d'esprit... et le peu de cas qu'ils font de la justice. Le Bill 60 a montré qu'on préfère le bi-confessionnalisme au confessionnalisme. Tant mieux si vous êtes dans la majorité ou dans une minorité puissante! Personne n'a compris que l'Etat a le devoir de respecter toutes les religions quand il en a la possibilité..... et il l'avait!

Sans préjuger de l'enquête Brossard, le peu d'enthousiasme de la population à soutenir la requête de Jacques Hébert est une autre preuve que personne ne se préoccupe de l'Homme.

Je voudrais donc attirer l'attention de votre commission sur cet aspect du problème du biculturalisme et vous citer une phrase de Jean XXIII qui s'applique merveilleusement à votre travail et servira de Base au mien.

"Le caractère pleinement humain des relations de la vie quotidienne réclame la vérité comme fondement des relations, la justice comme règle, l'amour mutuel comme moteur et la liberté comme climat".

UNICULTURALISME

UNICULTURALISME
GENERALISE

En 1890, vingt trois ans seulement après la signature de l'acte britannique d'Amérique du Nord, certains éléments s'attaquaient déjà à la confédération et Sir John A. MacDonald déclarait à la chambre des communes ce qui suit:

"Je ne suis pas d'accord avec ce désir exprimé dans certains milieux selon lequel on devrait tenter, par quelque moyen que ce soit, d'apporter une des deux langues, ou de la rendre moins importante que l'autre. Je crois que ce geste, s'il était tenté s'avèrerait impossible. Par contre, si c'était possible, le tenter ne serait que folie et méchanceté". Quelques fanatiques,

tels que Robert Thompson et Ken Pearson (ce dernier au nom des J.C. de l'Ontario) prêchent encore cette doctrine fossile de l'Uniculturalisme, anglais évidemment, à travers le Canada; mais je crois leur nombre si minime que je ne m'attarderai même pas à réfuter leur thèse.

UNICULTURALISME
RENOUVELÉ

Nous avons entendu parler aussi d'unilinguisme régionalisé, le français au Québec, l'anglais dans le reste du Canada. Nous nous devons aussi de rejeter cette formule, car au Québec elle ne serait pas juste pour les canadiens-anglais et dans les autres provinces elle ne le serait pas pour les minorités de culture française. Les canadiens-français rendraient aux canadiens anglais la monnaie de leur pièce, c'est entendu..... mais on ne corrige pas une injustice par une autre injustice. La culture n'est pas rattachée à un lieu.... mais à des hommes. Les canadiens français de la province de Québec ne peuvent être égoïstes et cruels au point de sacrifier un million de leurs frères pour la satisfaction d'embêter l'élément anglais de la province! Ceux qui prônent le rapatriement des minorités de l'Ouest dans la province de Québec font montre de sadisme s'ils veulent le rendre obligatoire et font fi des libertés civiles s'ils envisagent cette solution même comme facultative... car les hommes ont un droit naturel à leur culture, peu importe l'endroit où ils se trouvent.

pouvoir parler sa langue à son gouvernement. Le bilinguisme au niveau du gouvernement fédéral ne peut être de la simple traduction: celui dont la langue serait traduite se considérerait comme un citoyen de seconde zone. La solution adoptée en Belgique ne semble être celle qui devrait être appliquée au Canada: les fonctionnaires ne sont pas bilingues, sauf à l'échelon supérieur, mais il y a des fonctionnaires des deux langues. Le problème du fonctionariat dans le gouvernement fédéral ne pourra être résolu qu'à la condition que celui-ci admette massivement des canadiens-français pour briser le cercle vicieux qui les empêche d'y entrer. Alors canadien-français et canadiens anglais auront l'impression d'appartenir au même pays. Tandis qu'actuellement trop de Canadiens-Français aiment inconsidérément la France et trop de Canadiens-Anglais se tournent encore vers l'Angleterre alors qu'ils ne devraient avoir qu'une seule patrie: le Canada.

BILINGUISME DANS LES

GOVERNEMENTS PROVINCIAUX

Les gouvernements des provinces ont la responsabilité de l'éducation. Qui dit éducation dit formation d'hommes. Or, pour pouvoir former des hommes dans le sens complet du terme, il faut que les éducateurs commencent par respecter l'Homme qui se cache derrière l'enfant qu'on leur confie.... et ce respect commence par les droits naturels qu'il a, entre autres le droit à sa langue maternelle et à sa culture. Les gouvernements provinciaux doivent donc enseigner le français aux minorités françaises et l'anglais aux minorités anglaises si celles-ci le demandent. Pour atteindre cet objectif le gouvernement fédéral devra accorder aux provinces des pouvoirs fiscaux suffisants pour pouvoir mettre en œuvre une politique scolaire juste et les provinces devront accepter que le gouvernement fédéral dispose de moyens permettant de s'assurer que cette politique est appliquée. Ceci nous mène inévitablement à la refonte de

la constitution et la forme de l'Etat.

BILINGUISME

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Mais je crois très fortement que le principal problème se trouve au niveau des individus - après tout, ce sont eux qui font l'histoire. Je pense que les individus peuvent faire beaucoup pour assurer que tout le monde soit bilingue d'un bout à l'autre. Cette tâche me semble difficile à soutenir, pas seulement en ce qui concerne les cas idéaux, mais aussi les cas réels.

REDACTION DES
HISTOIRES

Certains partisans du bilinguisme et certains partisans de l'unilinguisme aussi d'ailleurs, tentent de s'appuyer sur des arguments historiques. Mais pour moi l'histoire ne justifie pas un droit. La seule chose qu'elle puisse faire c'est constater des faits...et...parfois...tenter de les expliquer. C'est abusivement que les groupes forts s'en servent pour conserver ce qu'ils ont acquis, mais qui n'est pas obligatoirement un droit. Toute personne, un tant soit peu clairvoyante, est obligée d'admettre que l'histoire a rarement coïncidé avec la justice... et ça les canadiens français le savent puisque, justement, en ce moment, ils cherchent à corriger le tort que l'histoire leur a fait. L'histoire n'est hélas qu'une suite d'injustices de peuples envers d'autres peuples, une suite de vols ou une suite de tueries; l'histoire ne fait que mettre en valeur deux principes immoraux, la loi du plus fort et la loi du premier occupant. Si c'est le droit du plus fort qui prévaut, alors parlons tous anglais; si c'est la loi du premier occupant, alors parlons tous indien. S'appuyer sur l'histoire pour justifier un droit c'est faire de l'esqueroquerie intellectuelle...et nos recteurs d'université (Le Devoir 23 août 1963) et nos historiens de renom (Le Devoir 8 nov. 63) ne s'en privent pas! J'espère que la commission saura faire la distinction.

linguisme aboutirait à la mort de la langue française et au suicide des canadiens-français comme entité nationale.

NUISIBLE À L'HOMME

Mais le bilinguisme n'est pas souhaitable surtout parce qu'il est nuisible à l'homme. Être bilingue sera toujours le fait d'une minorité parce que l'homme moyen ne peut faire coexister dans son univers mental deux façons de penser différentes. Je voudrais vous en donner un exemple. En face d'un mur blanc l'anglais dira "a white wall" parce qu'il voit d'abord le blanc et pense ensuite au mur qui supporte la couleur; tandis que une personne d'expression française dira "un mur blanc" car dans sa logique le mur pré-existe à la couleur. Ce sont là deux façons de penser différentes et on ne peut simultanément utiliser les deux... Il est même très difficile de les utiliser l'une après l'autre. Cette gymnastique mentale permise à certains provoque chez la majorité un déboulement qui conduit à toutes sortes de troubles psychiques et psychomoteurs tels que "le bégaiement, les tics, la recherche des mots, la lenteur ou l'impossibilité de s'exprimer et va même jusqu'au blocage quand ce n'est pas à la révolte". Chez moi-même, si vous voulez bien m'excuser de me citer en exemple, l'étude et la pratique de l'anglais a eu pour conséquence une réduction notable de mon vocabulaire français que je suis à même de remarquer lorsque je parle avec mes frères restés en Bretagne, qui ont eu pourtant la même instruction que moi. Le bilinguisme amène aussi des problèmes sociologiques. Chacun a encore à la mémoire le problème de ce qu'on a appelé les personnes déplacées et les problèmes sociologiques créés par les désordres psychologiques consécutifs à l'apprentissage d'une seconde langue.

BILINGUISME EST

UNE UTOPIE

Nous pourrions continuer notre argumentation mais pourquoi? Le bilinguisme généralisé est une utopie.

Tout le monde a entendu cette devinette: Une personne qui parle deux langues est dite bilingue; une personne qui parle trois langues est dite trilingue; comment appelle-t-on une personne qui parle une seule langue?... et tout le monde connaît la réponse: un anglais.

Sous un aspect humoristique cette devinette cache une réalité: le canadien anglais ne risque pas d'être francisé...et d'ailleurs le fait que la minorité anglaise du Québec n'a pas réussi en deux siècles à parler français le prouve magnifiquement.

Pourquoi continuer à vouloir l'impossible?

J'ai lu récemment une déclaration de M. John Fisher, commissaire des fêtes de la confédération qui disait qu'"un nombre grandissant de canadiens-anglais tentent d'apprendre le français dans une poussée de bonne volonté d'un océan à l'autre". On ne peut mieux décrire la situation, car il s'agit bien d'une poussée qui évidemment n'aura pas de lendemain, car pour apprendre une langue il faut qu'il y ait un besoin (les canadiens français apprendront-ils en bloc le zoulou?)et ce besoin n'existe pas chez les canadiens anglais, pas plus en Colombie Britannique qu'en Ontario.

Une autre chose me paraît certaine: on n'apprend pas une langue pour faire plaisir à une minorité.

Alors, qu'est-ce qui poussera les canadiens anglais à apprendre le français? Rien, c'est inutile d'y penser.

Faut-il appliquer de force le bilinguisme à tout le Canada? Ce serait pour les canadiens anglais un "calvaire inutile et peu accepté". D'ailleurs je les comprends... il suffit de se mettre à leur place.

CONDITIONS D'UNE SOLUTION

Pour aborder le problème de langues et de cultures il faut voir grand et loin.

LES PROBLÈMES GÉNÉRAUX

Il ne faut pas en faire un problème canadien seulement, c'est un problème à l'échelle mondiale. En Belgique il y a le problème flamand-wallon, en Espagne le problème catalan-espagnol, en France les problèmes français-breton, français-basque, français-alsacien et français-occitan; en Grande Bretagne le problème du gallois, en Italie celui du Val d'Aoste, en Suisse celui du Jura etc...

Le problème canadien ne se limite pas à une rivalité canadienne française-canadienne anglaise. Ceci n'explique pas tout puisque dans l'archipel des Prisons il n'y a ni anglais ni français.

L'acte britannique d'Amérique du Nord de 1867 ne doit pas lui non plus supporter tout le blâme. A Chypre il n'y a pas d'Anglais.

Il ne faut pas ramener le problème à un problème récent. Il faut ouvrir les yeux bien grand et comparer les invasions en Europe avec l'immigration qui a servi et sert encore à peupler le Canada. Peut être alors trouvera-t-on une solution dont l'histoire tiendra compte!

Il faut absolument abandonner l'optique étroite dans laquelle nous avons l'habitude de voir les événements. Certains poussent l'étroitesse jusqu'à ne voir que l'aspect politique linguistique ou économique des problèmes culturels. D'autres enfin ont un esprit tellement mesquin qu'ils ramènent le problème à leur problème personnel.

DENOMINATION DE L'HOMME

La seule approche normale dans le problème qui nous occupe est celle qui voit l'humanité.

il faut se teindre la peau et vivre comme lui, pour comprendre un homme qui a faim il faut souffrir de la faim soi-même. Pour comprendre les minorités il faut se mettre à leur place et chez les canadiens anglais seuls des personnes comme Bill Dantey peuvent comprendre les canadiens-français. Mais cet effort là personne ne le fait en réalité. Si seulement on faisait un effort collectif il a fallu un René Lévesque pour faire comprendre aux fonctionnaires libéraux, qui voulaient éliminer les fonctionnaires U.N., que demain ce sera leur tour d'être dans la minorité. Cette attitude pleine de sagesse amènera, j'en suis sûr, la sécurité et la paix chez les fonctionnaires. Adopter la même attitude envers les minorités ethniques c'est aussi travailler pour la paix.

Accepter les minorités et tâcher de les comprendre telle est une des conditions préalables à toute entente.

LA JUSTICE

Une autre condition essentielle est l'esprit de justice. Les ~~parties~~ ne doivent rien refuser qu'elles demandent pour elles et doivent être prêtes à donner ce qu'elles réclament. Elles doivent aussi admettre que les arguments qu'elles emploient puissent servir à d'autres.

Si, par exemple les canadiens français ont pu demander la protection de leur langue et de leur culture en 1867, alors qu'il n'y avait que des canadiens-anglais et des canadiens-français ceux-ci doivent accepter qu'en 1964 les cinq millions de canadiens qui ne sont de culture ni française, ni anglaise demandent et obtiennent eux aussi la protection de leur langue et de leur culture.

La plupart des partisans du bilinguisme, même s'ils ne le disent pas ouvertement pensent que "l'enrichissement numérique des néo-canadiens soulève un problème d'assimilation par l'une ou l'autre des deux cultures". Mais les mêmes personnes s'opposent au "melting pot". Alors pourquoi vouloir en importer deux dans lesquels iraient se fondre les cultures des minorités minoritaires? Soyons intellectuellement honnêtes: ce qui n'est pas bon pour nous ne devrait pas être bon pour les autres. Nos ancêtres anglais ou français ont déjà tué une race celle des indiens: par laquelle allons nous continuer?

Par les esquimaux peut-être. On assiste actuellement à un conflit de juridiction entre le gouvernement fédéral et le gouvernement de la province de Québec à propos de l'éducation des esquimaux. Jusqu'en 1957 l'éducation était donnée par les missionnaires en langue esquimaude. Maintenant le gouvernement fédéral s'en charge, mais le fait en anglais: il s'agit là d'un cas caractérisé de génocide. Ce qui importe ce n'est pas que les esquimaux choisissent entre l'anglais et le français mais qu'on ne les prive pas de leur propre langue et de leur culture: les expositions d'art esquimaud le prouvent abondamment. Ceux qui utilisent l'argument du droit du premier occupant pour justifier les droits des canadiens français doivent accepter que les esquimaux l'utilisent aussi. Mais dès lors on a déjà abandonné l'idée d'un Canada bilingue et biculturel.

DNS JAMES QUI

LE MULTICULTURALISME

En fait c'est vrai, le Canada n'est pas bi-culturel et ne devrait pas l'être non plus... pas plus que les autres pays du monde.

La culture n'est pas rattachée à un lieu.

Elle n'est même pas rattachée à un pays. Où qu'il se trouve l'homme a le droit à sa langue et sa culture dans les limites du raisonnable. Voilà pourquoi les minorités ne doivent pas être cantonnées dans les réserves, voilà ce qui justifie les droits des minorités canadiennes-françaises de l'ouest, voilà ce qui justifie les droits des canadiens-anglais de la province de Québec. Voilà ce qui ne s'autorise à rejeter la solution qui consiste à localiser les cultures: la française au Québec, l'anglaise dans le reste du Canada. Voilà encore ce qui nous autorise à rejeter la solution qui consiste à regrouper les canadiens-français dans le Québec et les canadiens-anglais dans les autres provinces. Il n'y a pas besoin d'avoir fait des études supérieures pour se rendre compte de l'odieux de ces solutions qui rejettent les droits des minorités dans un régime démocratique et méconnaît des notions démocratiques de base comme celle des libertés civiles.

Si un homme a des droits à une langue, ce n'est pas parce qu'il habite tel ou tel pays, ce n'est pas parce que ses ancêtres sont arrivés dans ce pays les premiers, ce n'est pas parce qu'il est le plus fort, ce n'est pas parce qu'il appartient à la majorité mais parce qu'il fait partie de la grande famille des hommes et qu'à ce titre il a un droit naturel à sa langue et sa culture.

Si les hommes se préoccupaient un peu des hommes, ils aboutiraient à la seule solution acceptable au niveau individuel le multiculturalisme.

Lorsqu'un pays a plusieurs ethnies sur son territoire, ou lorsqu'il accepte des immigrants, il devrait explicitement accepter leur droit à leur langue et à leur culture. Un pays n'a pas le droit

d'accepter des immigrants pour les étouffer culturellement. Il doit s'offrir à eux comme un pays où ils pourront vivre en homme avec tous les droits qui s'attachent à leur nature d'homme; chacun a le droit d'être soi-même. Que les minorités puissent conserver leur langue me semble une exigence du droit naturel. Or le Canada est une société culturellement pluraliste: elle doit donc être multiculturelle dans la mesure du possible.

Certains voient dans le multiculturalisme la désagrégation du Canada. Ils rejoignent là certaines autorités espagnoles pour lesquelles le "catalan est un élément de désintégration pour l'unité sacrée de l'Espagne" ou ce ministre français qui affirmait que "Pour l'unité de la France la langue bretonne doit disparaître". Ils oublient que ce qui forme une nation c'est le désir de vivre en commun, le vouloir-vivre collectif, et que par conséquent on peut avoir une nation comportant plusieurs races et parlant plusieurs langues. N'avoir pas compris ceci sera une des grandes erreurs que l'histoire retiendra contre de Gaulle qui confond l'Europe des Etats avec l'Europe des nations ou l'Europe des ethnies.

Accepter le multiculturalisme c'est accepter un enrichissement impossible sans lui.

Dans le domaine scientifique il a été maintes fois démontré qu'il est dans l'intérêt de la langue de disposer de plusieurs langues. Celles-ci sont la preuve de différentes façons de penser qui peuvent conduire à des découvertes qui ne seraient pas faites ou le seraient plus tard, par d'autres chemins, par des personnes parlant une autre langue. L'esprit de synthèse allemand, l'esprit analytique français et l'esprit pratique anglais sont bien connus et sont con-

créatisés dans les langues que parlent ces peuples.

Dans le secteur de la diplomatie la possibilité de trouver dans un pays des candidats préparés par leur culture à occuper des postes dans divers pays est un avantage certain qu'il ne faut pas négliger: c'est un moyen pour un pays d'augmenter son influence sur le plan international. Si la population était politiquement et économiquement réaliste je pense qu'elle favoriserait la multiplicité des cultures. Qu'en pense seulement à l'extension de la zone d'influence du Canada aux pays à vocation francophone (qui représentent quand même un groupe de cent cinquante millions d'hommes !) et qu'en pense au rôle que pourrait jouer le Canada en Afrique... si seulement il était bilingue ! Si le Canada acceptait d'être multiculturel son influence serait encore plus étendue à condition bien sûr qu'il s'agisse de cultures et de langues co-existantes et non pas mêlées dans un imbroglio indescriptible.

Mais ce qu'il ne faut pas oublier c'est que l'Homme doit être la base de toutes nos actions et la justice doit être notre guide. Les canadiens français, minorité au sein du Canada, et catholique par surcroît, devraient être réceptifs à cette façon d'aborder le problème des langues et des cultures au Canada et donc accepter le multiculturalisme et le multilinguisme à l'échelon des individus.... si c'est possible.

EST POSSIBLE

EST POSSIBLE

Pendant longtemps j'ai cru cette solution une utopie, jusqu'au jour où j'ai eu entre les mains un rapport publié par M. Charles D. Amoun, délégué permanent du Liban à l'O.N.U. et intitulé "Etude des mesures discriminatoires dans le domaine de

l'enseignement".

La lecture de ce rapport fut pour moi un choc.

J'y ai découvert qu'en Albanie, en Bulgarie, en Hongrie, en Pologne, en Roumanie et en Tchécoslovaquie deux ou plusieurs langues bénéficient de l'égalité de statut en matière d'enseignement. J'y ai découvert qu'en Hongrie la politique actuelle est d'ouvrir une école pour minorité nationale (Allemande, Croate, Serbe, Slovaque, Slovène ou Roumaine) dans toute localité comptant au moins quinze élèves appartenant à cette catégorie. J'y ai appris aussi que l'article 121 de la constitution russe garantit à tous les citoyens de l'Union soviétique l'enseignement dans leur langue maternelle, que deux cents environ sont reconnues et utilisées. S'il y a des minorités un minimum de vingt cinq (25) élèves du même âge est requis pour justifier l'ouverture d'une école par le gouvernement évidemment.

Et alors je me suis fait la réflexion que vous vous faites sans doute en ce moment: "Comment est-il possible que derrière le rideau de fer les minorités jouissent d'un statut culturel et linguistique supérieur à celui que nous leur donnons dans un pays soi-disant libre comme le nôtre?" La réponse est évidemment que les communistes se doivent de respecter les langues et les cultures des pays qu'ils annexent sinon leur expansion serait ralentie ou même arrêtée définitivement....et vraisemblablement c'est aussi une condition pour conserver la paix à l'intérieur de l'Union. Mais quelles que soient les raisons qui incitent la Russie à satisfaire ses minorités, j'ai eu honte de recevoir une leçon de justice.... et je ne suis dit que si nous pratiquions la même politique en Occident nous ne connaîtrions pas les problèmes de Chypre, de Belgique, de Québec et autres.

CONCLUSION

Des quelques considérations ci-dessus voici résumées les conclusions qui s'imposent.

Au niveau fédéral il faut du bilinguisme chez les fonctionnaires d'un océan à l'autre pour que le Canadien-français se sente chez lui dans tout le Canada.

Au niveau provincial, les provinces adopteront comme langue officielle la langue de la majorité.

Au niveau des affaires la langue officielle de communication à l'intérieur d'une province devra être la langue de cette province, quitte à adopter une autre langue officielle comme moyen de communication interprovinciale ou internationale.

Ces trois problèmes seront résolus lorsque suivant l'heureuse formule de René Levesque "Québec capitale d'une province sur dix sera aussi, et surtout, capitale d'une nation sur deux".

Mais je crois non moins fortement que les problèmes humains du Canada posés par des différences de langue et la plupart des problèmes mondiaux seront résolus lorsque les peuples auront appris à respecter les minorités, lorsque les hommes auront enfin découvert qu'il y a des hommes et lorsqu'ils auront compris la valeur d'un homme.


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REMARQUES DE L'ANALYSTE:

L'auteur du mémoire préconise la reconnaissance du bilinguisme administratif par les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux mais le condamne au niveau des individus. Le Canada étant un pays culturellement pluraliste doit être multiculturel dans la mesure du possible.

A L'ATTENTION DE LA RECHERCHE:

L'étude de M. Charles D. SMMOUN, délégué permanent à l'O.N.U.: "Etude des mesures discriminatoires dans le domaine de l'enseignement."

L'article 121 de la constitution russe sur les droits des minorités

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Yann Plunier,
case postale 2671
Baie-Comeau.

Mémoire: 19 pages recommandations, p. 19.

Co-fondateur de l'Union bretonne des fédéralistes au sein de l'Union européenne des fédéralistes; ex-secrétaire du Congrès interceltique

1 - Préliminaires;

Peut-on justifier le bilinguisme par des arguments autres que sentimentaux, politiques ou linguistiques? Aucune étude parue sur la question n'a encore exposé "les raisons pour lesquelles il faut -

ou il ne faut pas - être unilingue, bilingue ou multilingue". p. 2

"Le mandat de votre Commission ... vous impose, ou presque, le biculturalisme sans même savoir si c'est là une solution juste." p. 2

2 - "Uniculturalisme"

En 1890, MacDonald dénonçait les tenants de l'unilinguisme pour le Canada. Il faut également rejeter comme une injustice "l'unilinguisme régional"; (le français dans le Québec, l'anglais dans les autres provinces).

"La culture n'est pas rattachée à un lieu mais à des hommes." p. 4

"Ceux-ci ont un droit naturel à leur culture, peu importe l'endroit où ils se trouvent". p. 4

3 - "Biculturalisme"

Seul admissible: la co-existence de 2 cultures; la fusion entraîne l'auto-destruction de l'une et de l'autre.

Si l'on admet la co-existence de deux, pourquoi pas admettre celle de plusieurs cultures? Telle devrait être la force du Canada.

4 - Bilinguisme

A) définition: "le bilinguisme peut être basé sur la simple traduction, sur la compréhension mutuelle de personnes qui parlent chacune dans sa langue, sur la compréhension parfaite de

deux langues chez le même individu". p. 5

B) bilinguisme au gouvernement fédéral:

Nécessité de reconnaître deux langues officielles: le français et l'anglais. Ce bilinguisme administratif ne saurait être qu'une simple traduction.

La solution belge semble applicable au Canada.

Le problème du fonctionnarisme ne sera résolu "qu'à la condition que (le gouvernement fédéral) admette massivement des Canadiens français pour briser le cercle vicieux qui les empêche d'y entrer".

p. 6

C) le bilinguisme dans les gouvernements provinciaux:

Ils ont la responsabilité de l'éducation.

Qui dit respect de l'homme, dit respect des droits naturels, entre autre le droit à sa langue et à sa culture.

Devoir pour les provinces de permettre l'enseignement de leurs langues aux minorités - française ou anglaise - si elles le demandent.

Pour ce faire,

d'une part, "... le gouvernement fédéral devra accorder aux provinces des pouvoirs suffisants pour pouvoir mettre en oeuvre une politique scolaire juste..."

d'autre part, "les provinces devront accepter que le gouvernement fédéral dispose de moyens permettant de s'assurer que cette politique est appliquée".

p. 6

Conséquemment, nécessité d'une refonte de la Constitution.

D) le bilinguisme au niveau des individus:

La thèse du bilinguisme individuel d'un océan à l'autre est peu souhaitable et utopique.

Réfutation des arguments

a) historiques:

Les arguments historiques - pour ou contre le bilinguisme - ont peut de valeur;

l'histoire ne justifie pas un droit;

"l'histoire ne fait que mettre en valeur deux principes immoraux, la loi du plus fort et la loi du premier occupant". p. 7

"s'appuyer sur l'histoire pour justifier un droit, c'est faire de l'escroquerie intellectuelle". p. 7

b) économiques:

S'ils ont une certaine valeur, ils n'en demeurent pas moins des arguments incidents.

c) numériques:

guère plus valables:

"Un état n'a pas le droit de satisfaire la majorité seule, quand il a la possibilité de satisfaire tout le monde". p. 8

Le bilinguisme n'est pas souhaitable: (1)

- nuisible à la langue: "accepter le bilinguisme aboutirait à la mort de la langue française et au suicide des Canadiens français comme entité nationale". p. 9
- nuisible à l'homme: "l'homme moyen ne peut faire co-exister dans son univers mental deux façons de penser différentes". p. 9

Le bilinguisme généralisé est une utopie:

En ce qui concerne les Canadiens anglais:

- 1) "... pour apprendre une langue, il faut qu'il y ait un besoin et ce besoin n'existe pas chez les Canadiens anglais pas plus en Colombie qu'en Ontario". p. 10
- 2) "on n'apprend pas une langue pour faire plaisir à une minorité"

Donc, rien ne poussera les Canadiens anglais à apprendre le français.

(1) Selon le contexte, il s'agit de bilinguisme de masse.

5 - "Conditions d'une solution"

Il ne faut pas faire du problème du bilinguisme un problème canadien (ex. de la Belgique, de la France, de l'Espagne, etc.)

Le problème ne se limite pas à une rivalité canadienne française et canadienne anglaise;

Tout le mal n'est pas imputable à l'A.A.N.B.

"La seule approche normale dans le problème qui nous occupe est celle qui voit l'humanité". p. 11

a) compréhension des minorités

Relativité de la notion de minorité

Dans la perspective d'un Québec indépendant, la peur des Canadiens anglais provient du fait que "le statut qu'ils entrevoient pour eux a été celui des Canadiens français pendant près de 100 ans et l'est encore". p. 12

Nécessité de toujours agir comme si majorité aujourd'hui on était minorité demain.

b) esprit de justice

"Si les Canadiens français ont pu demander la protection de leur langue et de leur culture en 1867, alors qu'il n'y avait que des Canadiens anglais et des Canadiens français, ceux-ci doivent accepter qu'en 1964 les cinq millions de canadiens qui ne sont de culture ni française ni anglaise demandent et obtiennent eux aussi la protection de leur langue et de leur culture". p. 13

Inopportunité d'imposer deux langues et deux cultures et de préconiser l'assimilation des minorité autres.

Cas type: les esquimaux: "Ce qui importe ce n'est pas que les esquimaux choisissent entre l'anglais et le français mais qu'on ne les prive pas de leur propre langue et de leur culture". p. 14

6 - "Le multiculturalisme"

Le Canada n'est pas bi-culturel et ne doit pas l'être.

La culture n'est rattachée ni à un lieu ni à un pays.

"où qu'il se trouve, l'homme a le droit à sa langue et à sa culture dans les limite du raisonnable". p. 15

D'où, rejet des solutions qui prônent:

- a) la localisation des cultures (française dans le Québec; anglaise ailleurs);
- b) le regroupement des francophones.

Ces solutions sont odieuses en ce qu'elles rejettent les droits des minorités et méconnaissent des notions démocratiques de base comme celle des libertés civiles.

Au niveau individuel (1) la seule solution acceptable: le multiculturalisme.

"un pays n'a pas le droit d'accepter des immigrants pour les étouffer culturellement". p. 15

Le Canada étant une société culturellement pluraliste doit être multiculturel dans la mesure du possible.

Le multiculturalisme et la désintégration du Canada: faux argument. Ceux qui l'invoquent "oublent que ce qui forme une nation, c'est le

désir de vivre en commun; le vouloir-vivre collectif, et que par conséquent on peut avoir une nation comportant plusieurs races et parlant plusieurs langues." p. 16

Un Canada multiculturel aurait une zone d'influence plus grande en politique extérieure.

Multiculturalisme ne veut pas dire "melting pot" mais co-existence de cultures et de langues.

Possibilité du multiculturalisme:

Référence au rapport de M. Charles D. Ammoun, délégué du Liban à l'O.N.U., "Etude des mesures discriminatoires dans le domaine de l'enseignement" et à l'article 121 de la constitution russe.

(1) souligné dans le mémoire.

DOCUMENTS PREPARATOIRES

Mémoire #:740-210

M. Yvan Plumier
Baie Comeau

QUEBEC

A. RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR L'INDIVIDU

- i L'auteur est co-fondateur de l'Union bretonne des Fédéralistes au sein de l'Union européenne des Fédéralistes
- ii Il est aussi secrétaire du Congrès interceltique
- iii Il affirme être préoccupé des problèmes de culture et de langue depuis plus de vingt ans
- iv Il est agé de quarante ans et réside au Canada depuis onze ans.

B. QUESTIONS...

1. ... EN PROVENANCE DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES

p.2
lig. 17

Le mandat impose-t-il vraiment le biculturalisme?

p.2
par.4

Quel est le sens exact du mot "biculturalisme" quand vous constatez que c'est possible qu'il ne soit pas une solution juste?

p.2
par.5
Etre au
service de
l'Homme

Dans la pensée de l'auteur, que veulent dire "les seuls buts valables" de la Commission?

p.5
li. 9

"L'idéal de la culture serait de participer à toutes les cultures du monde: laissons les donc se développer chez nous."

Que faut-il entendre par le développement de toutes les cultures au Canada?

p.8
para.1

Pourquoi constatez-vous que les arguments économique ne sont pas réels?

p.9

L'auteur affirme à certains moments que la connaissance d'autres cultures est un enrichissement personnel; puis il constate que le bilinguisme, qui est certainement une clef à la connaissance d'une autre culture est "nuisible à l'homme".
Est-il possible d'éclaircir ces points apparemment contradictoires?

p. 8 - 3

L'auteur semble d'avis que le bilinguisme est nuisible à la langue. Quelles évidences concrètes a-t-il de cette opinion? Croit-il que le bilinguisme soit une nécessité pour les Canadiens français?

p. 9
par. 1
Nuisible à
l'Homme

Est-ce qu'il y a évidence médicale que la connaissance et l'usage de deux langues provoque chez la majorité "toutes sortes de troubles psychiques et psychomoteurs?"

C. SECTION DE LA RECHERCHE

1. QUESTIONS DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES A LA RECHERCHE

Question

p. 3
line 5

"Est-ce que, en effet, le "Bill 60" limite les droits du confessionnalisme?"

Réponse

Bill 60 created divisions within the Department of Education which are not divided into Catholic and Protestant sections. It could be argued that this may lead to interference with the confessional character of the schools, since one of the divisions, for example, is responsible for the curriculum, although there is no evidence of this. The next volume of the Parent Commission will make recommendations on confessionality.

M. Plumier seems to be referring to the creation of two advisory committees, one Catholic and one Protestant, to advise on religious and moral questions, instead of recognizing a multiplicity of denominations.

B R I E F

to

the ROYAL COMMISSION on BILINGUALISM and
BICULTURALISM

presented by

"Plast" Ukrainian Youth Association,
Winnipeg Branch

613 Flora Ave.,
Winnipeg, Manitoba

1964

I

ASSOCIATION SPONSORING THIS BRIEF

"Plast" Ukrainian Youth Association, Winnipeg Branch, wishes to submit its views on the question of bilingualism and biculturalism at the time of this inquiry. In order that our opinion on the matter be more clearly understood, we would first of all like to identify our association and outline its aims and purposes.

"Plast" is a youth organization, whose principles are closely associated with those of scouting, but having a distinct Ukrainian character of its own. It strives to guide the development of its young members into good citizens of Canada. At the same time, it attempts to kindle in the hearts of its members love for their national heritage. This is done in many ways. The most important and most stressed of these is a working knowledge of the Ukrainian language by which we attempt to preserve the Ukrainian culture and to continue its normal course of development.

The Winnipeg Branch is only one of the branches of the national organization "Plast" with its headquarters in Toronto. The Winnipeg Branch has been incorporated in the Province of Manitoba January 9, 1956, and at the present time has an ever increasing membership of 250 active members.

In stating our opinion we would first like to bring to the attention of the Commission that the views presented here are those of young Canadians. We feel it is necessary to submit these views because we are greatly interested in the actual decision of the Commission. This decision will undoubtedly determine the future character of the Canadian nation, the nation we are and will continue to be part of.

II

GENERAL VIEWPOINT

The question of bilingualism and biculturalism may be approached in many ways. The prevailing tendency is to take into consideration the two "founding races". This term, "founding races", is very apt. These people have provided the foundation upon which Canada is built. However, in the actual building of our nation due credit should be given to the role played by the other ethnic groups as well as the French and English. There the role played by the other ethnic groups is most evident. The prairie region, first discovered and settled by La Verendrye and the Selkirk settlers, was not really considered important by the majority of the settled part of Canada until after it had been developed by the "other" ethnic groups.

In Manitoba, the people of British ethnic origin are the largest group and constitute 43% of the population. The distinction of forming the second largest language and cultural group falls to our Ukrainian citizens. In third place are the Germans and the Mennonites, followed by the French, Dutch, Polish, Scandinavian and other groups who make up the cosmopolitan population of Manitoba. Thus, in shaping Canada's future, we feel that the wishes of these groups should be considered.

III

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Ukrainian community has always accepted the fact that the language of instruction and education is English, a common denominator not only across Canada, but virtually over the entire North American continent. Whenever the question of the Ukrainian language has been raised it has been from the point of view of a subject in the curriculum as the mother tongue of an important segment of the population of Manitoba, a vehicle to their traditional culture, or as a basis of

3.

Ukrainian religious life. Our approach is a realistic one; we expect full equality for the Ukrainian language, with other languages representing different cultures of the people of Manitoba as a basic right as citizens of this Province.

The present program of instruction of the Ukrainian language in Manitoba is hypocritical. The Ukrainian language is now being offered at the high school and university level but on both levels it is considered merely an option and cannot be used to fulfill the language requirement for High School Matriculation or for a B. A. or a B. Sc. Thus the program has no continuity.

2. Whenever public financial support is provided for Canadian cultural and artistic achievement and institutions, it should not be restricted to the two major ethnic groups. The grants of the Canada Council should be available to other active ethnic groups. The Ukrainian cultural and educational organizations, such as the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre and the Ukrainian Theatre in Winnipeg, etc. are indications of the interest of ethnic groups in their culture.

3. Discriminatory legislation such as the Canadian Broadcasting Act should be removed. All publicly owned media of communication, such as the C. B. C. and the National Film Board, should be open to all ethnic groups and should freely devote more time to representing and furthering their cultural achievements.

4. One of the requirements of the Civil Service is that its employees be bilingual. Bilingual here is interpreted as being fluent in English and French. We feel that other languages such as Ukrainian or German should be recognized as one of the required languages.

4.

This broader interpretation of bilingualism is especially adaptable to certain regions such as the Prairie Provinces where many ethnic groups outnumber the French-speaking population.

5. Attempts should be made by proper authorities to include into school curricula and texts reliable information about the ethnic groups and their contributions to Canadian life so as to dispel biases based on ignorance or distorted ideas.

IV

SUMMARY

1. The Ukrainian language should be placed on an equal basis with French and German at all levels in Manitoba schools.

2. The Canada Council should extend its financial assistance to active cultural organizations of all ethnic groups.

3. The publicly owned C. B. C. and National Film Board should devote more attention to the preservation and development of all cultures.

4. The definition of bilingualism as required by the Civil Service should be broadened to include other pre-dominant languages.

5. School texts should have proper information about ethnic groups and their cultures.

CATZ 1

-65022

NO.: 760-606

AUTHOR: "Plast" Ukrainian Youth Association,
Winnipeg Branch.

Brief of 4 pages ; 5 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

Due to its brevity, this brief has not been summarized. The authors define bilingualism as being knowledge of english plus "another tongue". Full equality of treatment for the Ukrainian language is requested on the educational, cultural and governmental levels.

ATT.: RESEARCH

-statistics concerning the ethnic groups in Manitoba. p. 2

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RECOMMENDATIONS:	-Summary-equality for Ukrainian language	4
	-Canada Council aid to cultural activities of ethnic groups	
	-N.F.B. & C.B.C. attention to other cultures	
	-redefinition of bilingualism in Civil Service	
	-proper information in school texts re: ethnic group	

BRIEF:

I-ASSOCIATION SPONSORING THIS BRIEF	1
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CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief: # 760-606

Plast Ukrainian Youth Association

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

Youth organization.

Eligibility - Ukrainian; knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

Winnipeg Branch: Incorporated Jan. 9, of 250 active members.

The organization is a national one with its headquarters in Toronto.

2. OBJECTIVES

Closely associated with those of Scouting.

Distinct Ukrainian character.

Development of its members into good citizens of Canada.

Stimulate units' members for their Ukrainian heritage.

3. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

Information not available.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

Question

To what degree do the opinions expressed in your brief represent the views of the National organization of which you are a part? How was the brief prepared?

p. 3 para. 2

Re: Public financial support for Canadian cultural and artistic achievements.

Question

Is there any indication that public financial support in the cultural and artistic fields, has been restricted to the two major ethnic groups in Canada?

p. 3 para. 3

Re: Discriminatory legislation such as the Canadian Broadcasting Act should be removed.

Question Just what is implied by this reference to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Act?

p.3 para. 4 Re: Language requirements in the Civil Service.

Question Would this reference to the recognition of languages other than English or French in the Civil Service apply to Manitoba or to the Federal Civil Service as well? Would the writer of the brief care to elaborate?

C. RESEARCH SECTION

p. 3 no. 3 Qu'est-ce qui est discriminatoire dans la loi?

DIVISION VII

In what way do they wish the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board should help preserve their culture? Would it be sufficient to put on broadcasts about the Ukrainians but in the English or French language, or is it necessary to have the programs conducted in Ukrainian?

Division: Voluntary Associations.

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Division: Voluntary Associations.

July 21, 1965

INTRODUCTION

In response to the invitation of your Royal Commission to the public to submit briefs on bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada, I am taking this opportunity of presenting in an official and public manner the views of the national syndicalist movement on that subject. The People's Forward Party of Canada (Le Ralliement du Peuple Canadien) represents the political form of an economic ideology which stands for worker-owned enterprise and a form of government based upon class representation in Parliament and legislation by plebiscite, using electronic devices and which follows the social philosophy of biocracy. The motto of the Forward Party is "not right or left but forward". To coin an aphorism, national syndicalism may be described as the politics of the unpolitical. The term "national syndicalism" is used to describe the movement and is not its official name. The adjective "national syndicalist" corresponds to "socialist" for the New Democrat Party and "capitalist" for the Progressive-Conservative Party and is also used as a substantive noun. In French the descriptive term is "auto-syndicalism" to distinguish it from the word "syndicalisme" which means trade unionism. In French this distinction is necessary in order not to give the impression that the Ralliement du Peuple Canadien is a trades union or that it is connected with any particular labour body.

In order to avoid using the hyphenated form French-Canadian or English-Canadian or the expressions French-speaking or English-speaking Canadians, the term Canadien or Canadian will be used respectively instead. Also, the terms "dualism" or "duality" are used instead of bilingualism and/or biculturalism.

Most of the recommendations made follow the general policy of the national syndicalist movement but explain certain points in more detail insofar as they pertain to particular subjects under consideration in the brief. Some of the incidental remarks reflect only the personal views of the writer.

In addition to referring to the official party program, a considerable number of authors and books have been consulted or read. Space or time does not permit footnotes or full quotations from particular authors or books. The same applies to articles which have appeared in current periodicals or newspapers. The following bibliography will give some idea of the authors quoted or referred to and the books or periodicals, as far as memory permits. In addition, many of the observations and conclusions in this brief are derived from personal experience.

LIST OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
A. R. M. Lower	Canadians in the Making
Lewis Mumford	Technics and Civilization; In the Name of Sanity; The Conduct of Life
James Burnham	The Managerial Revolution
Mason Wade	The French-Canadian Outlook
Julian Park	The Culture of Contemporary Canada
C. B. Sissons	Church and State in Canadian Education
Bruce Hutchinson	The Struggle for the Border
The Massey Report	Royal Commission on the Arts and Sciences
John Farthing	Freedom Wears a Crown
Judith Robinson	This is On the House
Seymour Lipsett	Political Man
Rudolf Rocker	Nationalism and Culture
Oswald Spengler	Decline of the West
R. H. Tawney	Religion and the Rise of Capitalism
M. Chopin	Contemporary Canada
Donald Creighton	The Old Chieftain
Jean Bruchesi	Histoire du Canada
Clayton Gray	The Montreal Story
James A. Roy	The Scot and Canada
Ernest Mundt	Art, Form and Civilization
Maurice Lamontaigne	Le Federalisme Canadien
Edwin C. Guillet	Early Life in Upper Canada
Raymond Firth	Human Types
W. G. Hardy	From Sea Unto Sea
Thomas Costain	Ordeal by Fire
H. S. Ferns and D. Ostry	The Age of Mackenzie King
Dale C. Thompson	Alexander Mackenzie - Clear Grit
Watson Kirkconnel	The Seven Pillars of Freedom
Josephine Phelan	The Ardent Exile
Norbert Wriner	The Human Use of Human Beings
David Bell	The End of Ideology

Periodicals

<u>Name</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>
L'illustration	Montreal	Sept. 1939 - Dec. 1941
Reportages	Montreal	1955 - 1956
MacLean's Magazine	Toronto	Various articles on Canada and Confederation
La Revue Socialiste	Montreal	Spring 1959
The Canadian Tribune	Toronto	
The Canadian Intelligencer	Flesherton	
La Patrie	Montreal	Various articles on Canada and Confederation
Cite Libre	Montreal	November 1963
Parti Pris	Montreal	October 1963

- 1)- As we approach the first hundred years of our existence as a nation, it is fitting and indeed necessary that we should honestly and objectively appraise the present condition of our confederation and its future prospects. The original partnership between the French colony of Lower Canada and the three other English colonies of Upper Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia has undergone many stresses and strains as well as expansion and progress. The appointment of this Royal Commission may be interpreted as one practical step toward providing a perspective from which we may make such an appraisal of the present state of Confederation.
- 2)- One important aspect of our national life has been the relations between the founding races since Confederation. Many consider the disparities between them as a national dichotomy or an unbridgeable gulf. Is it unbridgeable or will it close of itself? The factors affecting the relationship between the two founding races include more than difference in language and culture if we limit the term "culture" to such irrelevant matters as the choice between French poetry and Italian opera on the highbrow C.B.C. Wednesday night program. Culture should be given its broadest definition in the sense that it should reflect all aspects of our corporate life. It is obvious that whatever friction exists between Quebec and the rest of Canada involves more than the difference in the style of folk dancing in Rimouski County, Quebec, and Haldimand County, Ontario. Economics, politics, fiscal policy, education and religion are much more portent factors. That is the reason for which this brief deals with real and controversial issues. Frankness in discussing some of these controversial issues can do no more harm than all the loose talk about separatism.
- 3)- Confederation has been described as a partnership between two major linguistic and religious communities. This commission's survey and review of that partnership may be compared to holding up a mirror in front of ourselves. What national image of ourselves will we see in it? If by such an introspective process, we Canadians can get a clear picture of ourselves, it might help us to take the necessary steps in finding our true national identity and at the same time to remove the barriers in the way. One concept of Canada's national identity or as we might say of Canadianism, is its comparison with a mosaic composed of distinct, differently coloured pieces of glass or stone. The final pattern is not yet discernible, because many pieces remain to be added. There is some difference between this analogy representing Canada and that used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to represent the United States. He compared his country to a weave of cloth made up of many coloured strands and threads and forming a definite preconceived pattern. The United States has also been described as a "melting pot". Therefore the official motto "E Pluribus Unum" is appropriate for that country but not for this. Sir Leonard Tilley selected

Canada's motto "A Mari Usque Ad Mare" from the seventy-second Psalm of David: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." It expressed the religious element in Canada's origin. The word "dominion" also suggested the official designation for the new country. It was later changed to "realm" to placate the sensitive nationalists. Likewise, the name of the national holiday was changed from Dominion Day to Canada Day. These changes illustrate the confusion about what we are and who we are. Will the national image of ourselves which we will see be the same as what others see of us? In the spring of 1963 during the election campaign, Look magazine had a feature article called "Canada, Troubled Country". It presented a worm's eye view of the prospects for Canadian unity. It was typical of the way Canadian news is presented abroad. According to the press of the iron curtain countries, separatism appears to be the most important thing going on in Canada. When coupled with the currency crisis of 1962, others would have been given the impression that this nation is falling apart. The communist press also blames the United States for our "crises" and suggests that Washington is ready to gobble us up. For us more level-headed Canadians with faith in our country, it proves the saying "no news is good news". However, the sensational headlines of political doom for Canada is belied by more accurate Canadian news in the financial pages of the same foreign papers.

4)- Do we face a crisis in national unity? If there is a crisis, how does it differ from the world-wide crisis in modern society? This brief will not undertake to explore the question of whether there is a crisis in national unity beyond making the observation that this nation has already survived far more divisive issues which threatened our national unity. To look at the other side of the coin, we have come out of many crises before stronger than ever. We also share many common ties beyond geographical proximity. In other words, this brief will attempt to balance the picture by considering the positive and constructive aspects of our French-English partnership. Otherwise, this brief would be merely an exercise in futility and represent arguments by the devil's advocate against continuing Confederation.

5)- Those of us who agree with the views and recommendations set forth in this brief would be less than honest if we denied that we would regard the appointment of this Commission as a weak effort to patch up the cracks in our national unity if it is not followed by action. Any government can derive information about the beat of the public pulse from statistical data, opinion polls, letters to the editor, etc. It can also employ the sleuths in the anti-subversive squad of the R.C.M.P. Have they been checking separatist activities on the campus of Montreal University as they have been checking leftist activities on the campus of Toronto University? Royal Commissions have been appointed to investigate genuine, serious issues and matters. Canadian public opinion as a whole is by no means unanimous that the present situation justifies

a Royal Commission. Messrs. Diefenbaker and Manning speak for those who feel that undue publicity about friction or division will only increase it. Then there are some who suspect that the purpose of this enquiry is to air the views of certain pressure groups with an axe to grind, particularly Quebec groups. The separatists are divided in their reactions; some welcome it as a concession to Quebec's demands, while others reject it as an effort of blandishment by the Anglais. Finally, throughout western Canada and among the new Canadians there are many who reject the basic premise of dualism as a necessary condition for Confederation. They tend to ignore the Commission. They would generally prefer only the use of English as the official national language. They represent another form of separatism.

- 6)- This brings us to the whole idea of national duality. Canada is not the only country in the western hemisphere with a dual culture. Peru and Bolivia are each divided into two very diverse elements. On the one hand there is the tiny, white Spanish-speaking minority which owns and controls nearly all the land, industry and the government as well as including most of the clergy. In contrast there is the large number of landless, illiterate aborigines. This category of division is fortunately absent from Canada. In the new republics which replaced the former European colonies in Africa and Asia, there is a dangerous division between a rather illiterate, untrained, native, ruling class ruling a very primitive population and a small minority of whites whose property has been nationalized. Canada is spared that also. Switzerland with its three language system has been compared with Canada. However, the analogy in a historical sense, is not as close as some think. The three mountain-dwelling peoples have long been politically independent from the larger countries of the same language. Whatever distinctively national traditions and culture the Swiss have developed, they have done so by their own initiative; whereas those of Canada have been imposed by England and France as the result of overseas military annexation and colonization. As citizens of a nation born of geographical isolation and proud struggle for independence, the Swiss have developed a much more vigorous and distinct national culture than we Canadians, despite a corresponding religious difference. However, the French there are Calvinist Protestants, while the Germans, who correspond racially and linguistically to the British element in Canada, are Catholics. In respect to dualism, the former Empire of Austria-Hungary was the closest thing to Canada. It was often called the "dual monarchy". It differed from the United Kingdom and the German Empire in that two separate crowns existed equally within the same empire, Austria being German-speaking and Hungary Magyar-speaking. In addition to the original Austrian and Hungarian kingdoms, there were added later several principalities and provinces which were mostly inhabited by Slavic and a few other races belonging to the Greek Rite. German was the second language in the eastern provinces and the language of instruction

in others, although Magyar was supposed to have equal status. These other nationalities within the empire corresponded roughly to the English-speaking Canadians who are not of British stock, in their diversity at least. The difference was that they were the separatists. It is probable that the empire would have broken apart even without the military defeat at the end of the first world war and the fall of the monarchies.

- 7)- These references to national dualism elsewhere serve to throw more light on our own form of dualism. In all these examples cited, we can see the effects of two forces at work. The one may be described as the centripetal, or binding; the other as centrifugal, or flying apart. Before we consider the centripetal and centrifugal forces as they have affected our Canadian partnership, there are some things we should understand about the Canadiens as a group. We find among them a strong pull from the past upon their contemporary thinking and feeling about nearly all public questions. It is not an accident that Quebec's provincial motto is "je me souviens". The memory of the past does indeed colour the Canadien's present. We should not conclude from this, however, that it has all been unhappy or that race and language relations have always been strained. We may conclude that, for the Quebecois, contemporary issues are judged by similar past issues. This racial trait is reminiscent of the Irish and Scotch and reveals the Gaelic element in the North American French. In order to counterbalance the backward glance, it would seem logical that prospects of a brighter future should be emphasized to turn the Canadien's vision forward, at least enough to give him a better grasp of the present. The separatist movement may be interpreted as a turning from the past by the younger generation. The Anglo-Saxon, including the Lowland Scot, has a more real sense of the present and its opportunities. This difference in racial characteristics is reflected in different approaches toward political, social and religious questions. In the political and/or ideological realm particularly, the Canadien reveals a strong romanticism regardless of what ideological label he wears. This is reminiscent of typical Latin romanticism. It was well illustrated by the difference between the Italian form of fascism and the German. Mussolini dressed up his fascism in fancy theory and poetic drama which did not correspond to their actual practice. Quite significantly, Mussolini was preceded by the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio and his "Risorgimento" movement. Hitler, on the other hand, did not try to revive the glory of the past or to woo the Germans with ideological abstractions. Instead, he promised the very practical benefits of a job and a full dinner pail for every German. Incidentally, he carried out his promises more effectively than Mussolini.

- 8)- When we speak of the English or the French as a race, we do not think of a distinct type like we do Negroes or Chinese. In his book "Human Types", Raymond Firth points out that differences between most Europeans consist of physical types of individuals being concentrated in certain families which are later labelled as tribes or races. This quotation helps to explain what race

is: "A racial or ethnic type, is then a combination of averages, an abstraction, and very few individuals in a population conform precisely to the standard type. Such abstractions have to be used in order to discuss relationships between racial groups." If we go back into the history of France, we can only conclude that the name "French" applies only to the inhabitants of that part of Europe immediately east of the Bay of Biscay who have developed a particular dialect of Latin, spoken today in a considerably modified form. Ethnically, these inhabitants are descendents of many migrants from farther east and north. In the northwest corner they are the original survivors of the original Gaelic tribes of Caesar's time. Most have the black hair and blue eyes peculiar to the Gaelics. In the north, there are the red-haired Normans (from the Danish Nordmaenner - Northmen); in the northeast, the blond Dutch-type Flemings; in the east, from the Rhine River to the centre of France, there are the German Franks (from whom France got its name - Frankreich); in the south, the Spanish and Basques; along the Mediterranean coast, the Romans, Phoenicians, Italians, Greeks, Jews, Moorish, Negroes and many others. This variety of origins of the so-called French people is shown by many of their family names - De Gaulle, Le Normand, Flamingue, L'anglois, L'allemand, Chavier, Hurtubise, Fabien, L'autrec, L'italien, Denis, David, Alacoque, etc. Thus among the French we find Gaelic, Nordic and Latin ancestors. The inhabitants of the British Isles also have a great variety of ancestral backgrounds.

- 9)- Returning to the centripetal forces holding together our Canadian partnership, the obvious one is geography. By its very nature, it throws together diverse types of people in a common association through business, transportation and the other necessary activities of daily life. The historical significance of such diverse people, predominantly teutonic, Protestant, English-speaking with their secularist and pluralistic society having been thrown together willy-nilly into some sort of relationship, first as hostile neighbours, and later as partners with a predominately Latin, Catholic, French-speaking with their church oriented and monolithic society, has been most eloquently expressed by Sir Wilfred Laurier. In a speech at Paris in 1897, he said, "La Providence, dans ses decrees impenetrables, nous a places, Anglais et Francais, sur cette terre de Canada pour y vivre ensemble sous le meme drapeau. Il eut ete indigne, Anglais et Francais d'oublier nos origines respectives..." In connection with geography, the geographic distribution of the Canadiens has been an important factor in their historic role. As long as the Canadiens are concentrated in the one province of Quebec, their rights have been limited to one province and have been overlooked, if not discriminated against, in other provinces where they are a very small minority. Furthermore, such an uneven distribution causes minority problems to be confused with provincial rights and provincial autonomy. In other words, the issue of provincial autonomy has been often a disguise for the perpetuation of certain

vested interests in Quebec and Ontario. The distribution of French-speaking people is roughly four-fifths in Quebec and the remaining one-fifth in New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba in that order. Outside of Quebec many are dropping the use of French, which means they are being assimilated like others. This is most apparent in very small communities or in the case of isolated families or individuals. In the larger French settlements of eastern and northern Ontario and northern New Brunswick, the use of French has not diminished appreciably. If we could increase the proportion of French-speaking in other provinces, either by having more Quebecois moving there or by bringing in more French-speaking immigrants from other countries, such as France or its former colonies, or Greece or Syria, we could bring the one-fifth outside Quebec up to two-fifths or more. I am confident that a more even geographical distribution of French-speaking would ease the problems of language rights and provincial autonomy.

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The second centripetal factor has been our long historical association and common achievements. The first was exploration of the northwest. The second was the fight for responsible government in the Canadas following the 1837 rebellion. To be quite frank, the rebellion itself should be considered as the first stage of that struggle even though it appeared to be disruptive. Following responsible government, the next great common achievement was, of course, the Confederation of the four British provinces of North America. The next great step was the settlement and organization of the west. This brings us up to the era of the First World War. In spite of the bitter division caused by the conscription issue, Canada came out of the war with an independent foreign policy. This led inevitably to complete national autonomy by the Statute of Westminster. The first post-war decade was also noticeable for industrial expansion in eastern Canada, increased foreign trade and consequent improvement of living standards in many parts of Canada. This decade also witnessed the first step toward social welfare legislation. French Canada shared equally and actively in this important period of industrial expansion. During the decline of the thirties, our history marked time. The decade following the Second World War was marked by extensive investment and development by foreign capital. The Duplessis era launched the recent industrial boom in Quebec through attracting American capital investments. Each of these episodes and developments brings to mind famous teams: Mackenzie and Papineau; Baldwin and Lafontaine; Cartier and MacDonald; Laurier and Sifton; King and LaPointe; St. Laurent and Pearson. Some detractors of national unity might say that the members of these teams were actually adversaries engaged in political horse-trading. So they minimize the good will, symbolized by the famous teams, as making a virtue out of a necessity. Whatever may have been the contributing circumstances which led to such close association and co-operation, the important fact is that they did exist. Furthermore, they

operated in spite of adverse circumstances which in some other countries would have been impossible. Such team-work appears impossible in Cyprus for a long time to come.

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The third centrepetal factor is not yet so apparent. It is almost a cliché to say that since the time of Confederation, we have undergone a revolutionary change in our way of life. This change amounts to a new kind of civilization. We Canadians are at the same time part of a world-wide transition. As a result of the shrinking of barriers of time and space, by means of rapid communications and modes of travel, we are becoming part of one world in a political and economic as well as a physical sense. From there the next step can only lead to a greater social and ideological unity. Thus will be fulfilled the great precept of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon - "Humanity is one". In this "one world" our foreign policy is becoming a more important part of our over-all national policy. By it we express our relations with other nations and the United Nations. But at this point we should stop and ask ourselves whether our external relations are influenced more by the interests of other nations or by the united national sentiment of the Canadian people as a whole. Before the First World War, there was no Ministry of External Affairs because the Colonial Office was responsible for our external relations. In our boundary disputes with the United States, England did not show much concern for her American protégé. The Ashburton Treaty which awarded Maine to the U.S.A. caused much resentment among the Canadians because most of Maine had been originally part of New France and at the time of the Treaty was inhabited mainly by Canadiens. This long-felt resentment was shown in recent times by a proposal to include Maine and other New England states with a predominant French population within the proposed independent fascist state of "Laurentie", which was a popular form of separatism during the thirties. At the zenith of Britain's imperial power which coincided with the Laurier government, there was a fairly nation-wide and enthusiastic leaning toward Britain. It was slightly dampened by Goldwin Smith in Ontario and Henri Bourassa in Quebec. The divisive issue of conscription during the war and Borden's disagreement with Britain's Lloyd-George over signing the peace treaty led to Canada asserting her right to her own foreign policy separate and different from Britain's. However, we should remember that among those loyal to the Crown there had been assertions of some economic independence from Britain. Sir John A. MacDonald's protective tariff policy against British as well as American industrial products anticipated the later official independence from the mother-country in determining our own foreign policy. During the twenties, Canada was developing a fairly self-reliant foreign policy; that is to say, one which was not influenced by some other particular foreign country. Also during this period, Canada was an active and helpful member of the League of Nations. During the late thirties, Washington began to pull Ottawa closer. So long as Britain and the U.S.A. were close together, the swing away from London toward

Washington caused no embarrassment to most Canadians. The royal visit of King George VI and the Queen to America in 1939 strengthened the three-way partnership which continued during the Second World War. Since the end of the Second War, our foreign policy has been marked by considerable confusion. Despite our formal adherence to the N.A.T.O. alliance, there is a much greater neutralist sentiment in Canada than is openly acknowledged by official circles. Furthermore, there is a considerable undercurrent of good will toward Russia which, though difficult to pinpoint, is nevertheless a factor behind the scenes in influential Ottawa circles. The uncertainty of Canada's foreign policy derives mostly from a nation-wide vacuum in Canadian sentiment or whatever else we wish to call it. Since nature abhors a vacuum, it is small wonder that in the absence of a genuine nation-wide Canadianism, different people think of Canada's foreign policy in terms of some other country's or of another bloc's. I am sure that all Canadians would subscribe to an aggressive "Canada first" policy in dealing with other countries if we knew what we are and who we are. Despite our active support of the United Nations organization, it remains for us, as for everybody else, a benevolent though nebulous idea. For the present, therefore, our U.N.O. membership is not a strong enough unifying force. There is, however, another international symbol of unity and loyalty. It is the Vatican State with its one Faith, one Pontiff, and its concept of one eternal destiny for all. For a great many Canadiens this country's most important foreign link is religious rather than military or ideological. In commenting on the cold war, an editorial in a Quebec daily neatly described the religious foreign link thus: "Pour nous Canadiens le mot d'ordre vient pas de Moscou mais de Rome." This religious foreign attachment compensates for the isolation of the Canadiens from historical developments elsewhere in the modern world. As far as the cold war is concerned, it must be admitted that isolation from it is more of a blessing than anything. However our romantic attachment to lost causes and "le bon vieux temps" can not withstand the outside pressure of international developments and contemporary technology. Before we Canadians can play our part as a strong, self-reliant nation in world affairs, we will need stronger leadership in providing a Canada first policy.

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While we rejoice at the treasure of material goods which modern technology has heaped upon us, we are beginning to learn the price we have to pay for it. Some of these are depletion and contamination of our natural resources, an all-pervading uniformity and conformity, vast concentration of economic and political power, decline of religious faith and moral standards. We are beginning to pay for the decrease of physical labour in boredom and delinquency. Within the last decade, Quebec has been pushed abruptly into our twentieth century civilization whereas the rest of Canada has entered it more gradually. After the ferment of novelty has subsided, the Quebecois

intelligentsia will have become adjusted to new vistas. By then, it may be possible that they will combine their enthusiasm, tempered by the process of trial and error, with the energies of the rest of Canada, so that together we may meet the challenges of our nascent civilization. This is a hope, not a prediction. Is it too much to contemplate the possibility that all Canadians may together fashion a new all-Canadian adaptation of the weltgeist? Within our national tradition, we already have the ingredients for a distinctive new economic, political and social ideology. We need another Laurier to inspire us to work for that new ideology.

13)- The fourth centripetal factor has been our resistance to the pull of the United States. To analyze this thoroughly would require a broad study of Canada's history since the time of the American Revolution. This brief will only attempt to summarize the respective ways by which the French and English Canadians have resisted the American pull. The French have resisted it because of differences in culture and involvement in imperialist struggle for domination of the continent. The English, on the contrary, repudiated the republican system of government in spite of other close ties and resemblances. This seems to indicate that blood is not always thicker than water. It does not belittle the sense of Canadianism of the French to say that it has been easier for them to resist the pull of Washington than for the English to do so. For the immigrants from Britain, it was easier to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of a great Anglo-Saxon continental community to be derived from Protestant democratic traditions. This was the lure of the slogan "manifest destiny".

14)- The second and third generations of English-speaking Canadians eventually lost some of their royalist or old country sense of distinctiveness from the Americans. For over a century another pull from the south has been the emigration of nearly a quarter of our entire population across the line. The average Canadian family thinks of their relatives across the line as living in another neighbourhood rather than in another foreign country. The smart boy of the family had to go south to make good. To add to the loss of a native-born British stock to the U.S.A., many of the European immigrants who arrived here before 1930 also went south after they realized the difference in wages and job opportunity between Windsor and Detroit, for example. A considerable number of Canadiens have also emigrated to the New England States, although the decline of the textile industry has caused many of them to return to Canada. The massive emigration of Canadians southward is closely analogous to the emigration of the Scotch and Irish. It is usually the less populated country which loses and the more populated which gains. If Canadians feel gratitude towards the States for providing opportunity, sometimes fame, for our younger and ambitious people, it must be mixed with some resentment and shame that our own country cannot do as much. Instead of indulging in envy of the U.S.A., we should throw overboard our proverbial caution and stinginess.

It may be due to the strong Scotch element in our ethnical background. The Scotch have a reputation for succeeding better outside of Scotland; the Canadians show the same trait. This loss of our human resources poses a challenge to all of us, singly and collectively. Once we realize the seriousness of this manpower drain, we should have sense enough to forget the other smaller issues like language rights, provincial autonomy, fiscal haggling, concern about the Cyprus situation, etc. Our main job is to make Canada a country worth staying in. Even if we achieve complete bilingualism from coast to coast, that in itself will not provide incentives to keep our best brains at home. Even if Quebec does become an independent republic, that in itself will not prevent the present emigration from there to France or the States.

- 15)- Many reasons can be suggested for the higher living standard of the United States as compared with ours. They have more favourable climate, more even distribution of population, a longer experience of democratic self-government, a more homogeneous racial and lingualistic stock among the people of the original thirteen states. At the same time there was a greater tolerance of religious diversity. Above all, there has always been a greater fluidity of class and social boundaries. This equality did not apply to Negroes, minors and women, i.e. there were restrictions according to colour, age and sex. Since the founding of the republic which was considered the most advanced form of civilization in the eighteenth century, many flaws have appeared in its fabric. Later attempts to copy the American republic have failed disastrously, the Congo republic being the most tragic example in recent years. The most serious inherent flaw was the excessive extension of the elective principle for a short term of many public offices where a permanent, non-partisan personnel chosen by appointment is more suitable. Another flaw was the complete repudiation of religion as a factor in secular life. The present collapse of American morality is the result of the constitutional divorce of the spiritual realm from the temporal. It would not be fair to ascribe all the moral delinquency to republican institutions. Other factors are the social effects of the industrial revolution, the automobile, the increase of gangsterism due to smuggling of the prohibition era, the cheap standards of the films, television and some elements of the press. Most insidious of all is the vast apparatus of mass-production culture, thought, and feeling. It flattens out like a steam roller individual dignity and independent thought. That great non conformist, Henry David Thoreau, would fare much worse today. All this conformity, if not mediocrity, is the cultural concomitant of standardized industrial production.

- 16)- The thoughtful Canadian who puts British traditional values above the material advantages of American ambition can discern certain advantages of the Canadian way of life over the American. Although some say that the "Canadian way of life" does not exist, or if it does, the differences are not significant,

nevertheless we can list some differences which some believe to be forms of superiority. There is less gangsterism and racketeering within legitimate forms of business, politics, and other areas of public life; divorce is much less prevalent, there is less narcotic addiction and juvenile delinquency; Canada has no national crisis over colour segregation; our top level national policy is not so openly dictated by generals and big financiers; our culture is less dominated by sex; we have a proportionately smaller membership in crackpot religious sects; above all, we have avoided the extremes of popular fads in many aspects of our national life: for example, Canada did not let the communists get as great a foothold in government and unions as the States did during the Roosevelt era. We did not go so far with prohibition as they did; we have not swung so violently from the pacifism of the twenties to the militarism of the fifties; our extreme right wing political party (Social Credit) is not so violent as Rockwell's American Nazi party or the secret John Birch society; at the same time our extreme left wing party (the communists) is not so radical as the American Technocrats. We are more fortunate than they in not having a violence-ridden history. We can thank the civilizing influence of our British tradition that there has not been open civil war between French and English. What riots and disorder did occur stopped short of large scale military conflict. We in Canada have been divided by more explosive sources of friction than those which caused the civil war between the northern and southern states a century ago. In this same matter of violence, we have treated our Indians better than they have their's. One of the slogans of the wild west was "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." Although we annexed their lands, we did so with less violence, if we except the rebellions of the Metis.

- 17)- The more level-headed Quebecois are aware of these differences. Still it is true that the same American influences are evident in Quebec as in Ontario. The Quebecois drive the same makes of cars, eat the same brands of breakfast foods, and dance to the same rock-and-roll juke box music. A slight variation is the substitution of French dialogue in Hollywood films and more showing of films made in France. American influence is least evident in television and radio entertainment where a French language network of local, highly talented origin provides the programs in these media. In fact, Montreal now has the largest French-language television industry in the world. There is also a very active local Canadian theatre. An increasing volume of periodicals, paper backs and other publications of domestic origin is appearing in French as well as imports from France. For some years past Radio-Canada has been broadcasting its home grown variety of "hootenanny". Quebec is more fortunate than the rest of Canada in not having to import its folk music from the United States.

18)-

This fact is due to the wealth of folk music dating from the earliest days of settlement. The tunes were mostly brought from France as the other American settlers brought theirs from their respective mother lands. The stirring events and heroic struggle of daily life as well as the quieter rhythm of their more settled life later produced a wealth of Canadien ballads equal to anything south of the border, examples being:

A la claire fontaine
 Un Canadien errant
 A Saint Malo, beau port
 En roulent ma boule
 C'est l' aviron
 D' ou viens tu bergere?

The interesting thing about them is they were derived and inspired from the New World habitat and were a potent, though intangible, factor in creating a genuine grass-roots sense of Canadianism which is conspicuous by its absence in most other parts of Canada. The only way English-speaking Canadians unacquainted with French can appreciate these old Canadien songs and tunes is by hearing old American ballads which are almost the only kind of folk music they know and sing. Most of the ballads of the Upper Canada pioneers which like all other early folk music originated spontaneously, have nearly all been forgotten or lost. One thing which is difficult to understand is why English-speaking Canadians have not expressed their attachment to home districts and provinces in song. Hank Snow and Paul Anka are the only current Canadian singers to use local material in their songs. Wilfrid Carter made western or "cowboy" music popular, but why did he not use the nickname Alberta Slim instead of Montana Slim? We sing the beautiful old classics about Virginia, Tennessee, New York City, Maryland, Texas, San Antonio, Wyoming, Ohio, the spirituals from the southern plantations, the railroad songs, the revival hymns, and the old Elizabethan era ballads made popular by Burl Ives. But I have yet to hear a nostalgic song about old Ontario or the plains of Manitoba or the lakes of the north. We must, however, make an exception of the down-easters who have given us most of our English language Canadian folk music. Much is in the unusual Newfoundland dialect about the seafaring life and some is in Gaelic. It should be noted that our national anthem is of Canadien origin, the words by Judge Adolphe Routhier and the music by Calixa Lavallee. It was at first contemptuously dismissed in Toronto imperialist circles as "bushwacker doggerel". However, after it was later translated and became commonly used elsewhere in Canada, it did not follow the original translation:

O Canada! terre de nos aïeux,
 Ton front est ceint de fleurons glorieux,
 Car ton bras sait porter l' epee,
 Il sait porter la croix;
 Tou histoire est une epopée
 Des plus brillants exploits;
 Et ta valeur, de foi trempée,
 Protègera nos foyers et nos droits.

The Anglais have done better in producing an indigenous literature and art than in music. Bliss Carman and Frederick George Scott were the pioneers of an incipient, native, English-language, Canadian culture. It is still holding its own but it is too early to see what effect it will have on Canadian life as a whole.

19)- The secularism of the American way of life was due to various reasons: the reaction from the discriminatory existence of state churches in some of the colonies in spite of the large membership of other denominations; the anti-clerical influence of the rationalistic eighteenth century; the reaction from the extreme Calvinist moralism; the rough living conditions and isolation of the frontier and also the liberalizing influence of the Quaker and Unitarian religions. Since it was impossible to officially recognize all the denominations, old and new, they had to recognize none. Americans are now having second thoughts about the wisdom of divorcing faith from public life, as is indicated by the controversy over prayer in public schools and the diversion of tax money to parochial schools. The adoption of the motto "In God we trust" also represented a retreat from the original areligious policy. It must be distinguished from the antireligious policy of the Russian revolution.

20)- In Canada, on the contrary, Jacques Cartier placed the Cross on the soil of the New World claiming it in the name of Jesus Christ and King Francis I of France. This signified the establishment of the Catholic Church in New France. From the first the missionaries were very active among the Indians. The appointment of Bishop Laval marked the official establishment of the Catholic Church as the other power in New France. His opposition to the sale of "firewater" to the Indians symbolized the spiritual authority of the Church as opposed to the commercialism of the fur trade. The same spiritual influence resulted in a more fraternal relationship between the whites and the Huron and Algonquin tribes. Ample evidence of this was the frequent inter-marriage between French and Indians, especially in the wilderness beyond the bounds of the first white settlements of Ville Marie, Quebec and Porte Royale. The deeply religious character of the French colony is illustrated by the religious origin of the place names (e.g. Ville Marie, the names of the twelve

Apostles, the titles of the Virgin Mary, the feasts and saints of the Church calendar); social welfare work in hospitals and schools, the miraculous foundation of the city of Montreal; the famous shrines which originated in Canadian historical events, e.g. Notre Dame des Victoires, Notre Dame du Cap, etc.; and the dominant social and intellectual status of the clergy in their communities. During the eighteenth century the Church was an important adjunct to the paternalistic administration of the colony. Incidentally, the Church was more powerful and independent of the secular power overseas than it was at home because of the clash between the Gallican or national concept of the episcopacy versus the international or centralist concept of it. The exclusion of the Huguenots from Canada strengthened the power of the Church. After the English conquest of Quebec the priests provided the only native leadership during the transition from French to British rule, therefore it was natural that the priests should be considered as the defenders of the conquered people against the Protestant conquerors. After the expulsion of the Acadians by Governor Lawrence because of the opposition of the clergy, the priests in Quebec were more careful in their relations with the conquerors. It is interesting to note, as a historical footnote to the conquest, that many of the British soldiers were Highland Scotch Catholics whose descendants are now included among the French of Quebec vicinity. The clerical policy of collaboration with the English conquerors paid off with the passage of the Quebec Act which guaranteed the rights and privileges which the priests had enjoyed under the French regime. Such toleration contravened the British laws against the Roman Church in England and the other colonies. The most important step in the survival of the Church was the consecration of Bishop Begin, who thereafter functioned independently of the Church in France. This was analogous to the consecration of Bishop Seabury by the Scottish Episcopal Church as the first American Episcopal primate. The most important political result of the entente between Governor Carleton and the clergy was Canada's rejection of the appeal of the American revolutionaries to join them. Even the influence of the Catholic Carrolls of Baltimore could not persuade them. The outbreak of the revolution in France against king and bishops and which was largely inspired by Masonic and rationalist elements, cut the last ties between New and Old France. Henceforth they were to be Canadiens only. The Church was the chief agent in creating their distinct national identity. Thus we can understand the meaning of the expression "la Foi, gardien de la langue". These events and circumstances determined the role of the Catholic Church in Canadian history from that time till now. Meanwhile, the influx of English-speaking loyalists from the American colonies and immigrants from the British Isles signalled the advent of a heterogeneous religious tradition in the other British colonies and in western Quebec. Included among the old country immigrants to Upper Canada were the belligerently Protestant Orangemen from

Northern Ireland. During the rest of the nineteenth century the Loyal Orange Lodge was a powerful factor in Canadian political developments. It was largely responsible for the secularistic nature of the society of English-speaking Upper Canada. While its one slogan "Equal rights and duties for all; special privileges for none" is acceptable by all intelligent and fair-minded people, its other slogan "One flag, one school, one language" is hardly suited for a country so divided like ours. In keeping with Newton's famous law of motion, fanaticism on one side engendered an equal fanaticism on the other side. However, when we view the struggle from a more objective twentieth century standpoint, it is clear that the effort to defend religious principles has strengthened the religious element in Canada public life. On the other hand, the United States did not experience the same degree of religious split. That is why they don't display the same degree of devotion to religious and ancestral tradition. That fact is apparent in the weaker moral and ethical fabric of American public life. In Canada, the extremes of papal ultramontaniam and Protestant Orangeism have been moderated somewhat by a considerably numerous Anglican section of Protestantism. While Anglicanism has been associated with military and class snobbishness, its middle-of-the-road tradition of doctrine and worship has contributed a civilizing influence to Canadian life far beyond its numerical strength. It is possible that the dullness and caution of the Canadian character may be due in some measure to the Anglican genius for correctness and restraint which has been a strong ingredient in our Canadianism. Be that as it may, most Canadians prefer it to the wild American enthusiasm for being a "success" in business and the megalomania of self-appointed religious "prophets" and infallible Bible interpreters.

- 21)- Turning now to the centrifugal, or divisive, factors in our national life, the most obvious one is language difference. But there are others which are so closely connected with it that it is difficult to sort them out or to decide which are more important. There is the historical background of two peoples of very dissimilar cultures settling in this same corner of this continent. Then we have the geographical factors of climate and soil distribution which in turn have dictated the east-west distribution of population in a thin line along the southern border. This uneven distribution of population has tended to accentuate regional diversities and conflicts of interests. Looking farther down the debit sheet of our national unity, there are these differences: in respective English and French political developments; religious; and concepts of Canadianism. There are also inadequacies in our government structure. Added to these peculiarly Canadian problems and inherent disadvantages are the stresses and strains of our modern, world-wide, industrial society. When listing the defects of the United States, we should not forget that we have them also, but in a much less

degree. This is because we are a decade or so behind them. We are catching up with them, at least in respect to traffic fatalities, alcohol and narcotic addiction, gangsterism, and huge public debt, to mention some of the more obvious defects.

22)- When we consider the disparities and the conflicts which have characterized Canadian history, the fact that we have remained one nation is a miracle of modern history which is hard to believe and almost impossible to explain. By all the laws of logic, we should have split up and been swallowed by our larger neighbour long ago. This fact is forcibly impressed upon us when we see the failure of other dual nations within the last century. To mention a few instances: The cession of Norway from Sweden in 1905; here were two peoples of the same race, religion, traditions, speaking two dialects of the same language. Yet the union of the two crowns fell apart. It may have been a reflection of the nineteenth century drive for national independence. The partition of Ireland: In this case the centrifugal forces were more powerful. Military annexation was later followed by religious persecution and class exploitation. The dissolution of the Central African Federation: The colour question was the chief cause. The present Cyprus situation: Here we have extreme differences in race, language and religion. Furthermore, the two mother-countries (Greece and Turkey) of the warring factions are actively mixed up in it. The only outcome can be a political division of the island as in the case of Ireland and possibly union of the Greek part with Greece. The predominance of the centrifugal force can be observed in the splitting up of Central America into five small republics and the division of the portion of South America liberated by Simon Bolivar into four republics. In the latter instance, geographic factors including vast mountainous regions and inadequate transportation facilities led to the division. Recent signs of economic co-operation may lead to reunion. These instances cited provide case histories for sociologists and historians to study the forces operating in society. In Canadian history, the presence of all these similar dividing factors did not prevent Confederation or break it up. The first centenary of Confederation is a time of renewal of our partnership. If it should not be continued or renewed, we should not feel too disappointed considering the failure of other countries which had much more favourable prospects than we have had.

23)- However, we dare not relax our efforts to strengthen and preserve Confederation, trusting that luck alone will carry us through as we have before. We must have a clear understanding of our problems. We will briefly consider those of most importance which are mentioned in paragraph 21, beginning with language. In the first place, there is not as much difference between French and English as there is between French and German, or French and Polish. Both French and English are derived from Latin and some Greek in their vocabularies except that the basic verbal forms of English are derived

from Teutonic. The chief difficulty is in speaking or hearing rather than in reading because of the similar spelling of many words. In Canada, there are more differences of local dialect and usage in French than there are in English. For example, the traffic sign - one way street is "Direction" in Montreal and "Sens Unique" in Quebec City. We may disregard the accents of English as spoken by the New Canadians. The Massey Report has much good information about the origin and development of the two languages in Europe and in Canada. The differences in local dialects of English are disappearing everywhere in North America due to the more or less standardized spoken form universally heard on radio, television, records and films. North American English as generally spoken through these media still differs considerably from British or Australian English. The difference between European and American French is diminishing because most records and films come from France and popular singers sing on both sides of the water. The French on radio and television follows the Montreal accent. The local Quebec City accent is more like France.

24)-

Until the fall of Louisbourg, Canada was a one language country. The maritime area began to be settled by New Englanders who occupied the farms of the former Acadians. Following the small trickle of English-speaking merchants in Montreal and Quebec, a large influx of English-speaking refugees from the former American colonies settled in the western part of Quebec province, north of the Great Lakes. As a result of their dissatisfaction with the system of government created by the Quebec Act, which was meant to preserve certain features of the pre-conquest system, including the continuance of French as the official language in all the province, Quebec was divided into two provinces with the Ottawa River as the boundary between them. The Constitutional Act of 1791, which divided Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, provided for the official use of French, in Lower Canada only, in certain legal and state documents, bills, laws and notices as well as the speeches in the Legislative Assembly. In spite of this there were many limitations in the use of French, especially in commerce and business and in social relations. At times speeches in French made in the Assembly were officially disregarded. The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Legislature was in English. During this period, that is till 1849, the proportion of French in Lower Canada was much smaller than it is now. This meant that they were unable by numerical strength alone to enforce their minority rights. Elsewhere, French was only used privately by a few individuals and families who had to acquire English in order to get along with their neighbours. In the American state of Louisiana, English had replaced French as the official language. In many parts of Canada to this day, French is regarded as a foreign language, even by descendants of Slavic immigrants in the west.

25)-

Before 1839 the French had not worried about the survival of their race and language. The report of Lord Durham on the causes of the 1837 rebellion aroused new fears of being submerged by a tide of Anglicization. The 1840 Act of Union confirmed their fears. They were excluded from the cabinet of the next Governor, Lord Sydenham, who acted as his own prime minister. His successor, Bagot, corrected this situation by bringing Louis-Hipolyte Lafontaine into the government. Henceforth, political manoeuvring was to be a weapon in the grand strategy of preserving the French race and language in North America. They had seen themselves swallowed up in the United States and the Durham Report had given them a foretaste of the same fate in their own "patrie". The most important response to Lord Durham's suggestion to develop a single Canadian people was to increase the birth rate. The increased fecundity of the Canadiens has been described as "la ravanche du berceau". Even now, French participation in federal politics is conditioned by the same strategy and the revenge of the cradle has not abated. Very little provision is made in the British North American Act concerning the use of French beyond parliamentary debate and printing of certain official documents and in courts under federal jurisdiction. Quebec was the only province obliged to the similar use of French. The use of French in the other provinces has been most unsatisfactory. The language issue has been most troublesome in the educational administration of the other provinces. This subject is well covered in a book by C. B. Sissons, entitled "Church and State in Canadian Education". It was not until long after Confederation that French appeared on postage stamps and paper money. In the last ten years there has been more commercial use of French and English in parallel form such as packaging, private publications, road signs, some advertising, etc. In most parts of Quebec and French settlements of northern Ontario and New Brunswick, the general everyday use of French is still printed or spoken in separate form. The French language radio and television network of the public and private broadcasting companies is the best example. In some areas both languages are used. Over a decade ago, whatever bilingualism was practised amounted to the use of one language or the other, depending upon the particular circumstances. It was analogous to the "separate but equal" formula for governing relations between whites and coloureds in the southern states prior to 1954. The present campaign (or "agitation" as some may less charitably call it) amounts to the nationwide use of English and French. If this materializes, the politicians won't be able to carry on two different, if not contradictory, kinds of campaigns on both sides of the Ottawa River. One of the best examples of political manipulation of language difference was the two different titles given to a collection of war-time speeches made by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and which was issued by the Office of War Information. One title was "Canada at Britain's side", the other title was "Canada et la Guerre".

Something was lost in the translation! Another example of a political mistranslation was the difference in the reporting of a speech by Prime Minister St. Laurent at Granby, Quebec about Canadian diplomatic relations with the Vatican State. According to *La Presse* of Montreal, he was not in favour of it at the present time and according to the *Toronto Star*, he was not in favour of it. One can also find quite different treatments of the same subject in the French and English language Catholic Church publications. Such variations led one wit to remark that there are three kinds of Canadians: the French, the Irish Catholics, and the Protestants. Such misuse of language difference has done much harm to national unity.

26)-

There is no doubt that the continuation of two separate language communities (in fact they should be called isolated) under the present circumstances is a detriment in many ways: commercially, politically, socially and in religion. Unless ways can be found to enable all Canadians to speak both languages with equal fluency, Canada will always be "a land of two solitudes". Up till now the almost insurmountable barrier of language difference has, in the words of Lord Durham, "created two nations warring in the bosom of one state". The limitation of the use of French to one ethnic group while English is spoken by all the others creates a severe national imbalance. If an efficient secular school system had been set up in all French-speaking parts of Canada, beginning with Quebec, then in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick, the Canadiens would have been in a much better position to make their language widely used commercially and Canada would probably be completely bilingual by now. This fact is receiving belated recognition in Quebec as is indicated by the formation of Cite Libre. The separatists also realize the need to catch up with English Canada, which explains their emphasis on education, especially secular. In having been able to preserve their ancestral language, the Canadiens have been much more fortunate than others who have been conquered by others of a different language. French was replaced by the official use of German in the province of Alsace-Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Practically every military annexation in Europe resulted in language changes. It is easy to minimize the toleration of the French language in Quebec after 1763 as a political gambit to prevent the newly acquired colony from breaking away with the other colonies; nevertheless, it is an historical fact, whatever the motive. For the purpose of national unity one official language would be preferable. Would it be too far fetched to suggest that French might be that single official language of Canada sometime in the future? Who would have thought that the despised Saxon language of the lower classes in Norman times would supplant French as a lingua franca seven hundred years from then? For the present, we must struggle along with our language segregation. The increasing use of international symbols in

figures and colours would help overcome some problems in bilingual areas. Traffic signals are the best example, according to the Chinese maxim that a picture says more than a thousand words. In Montreal there are a few signals for pedestrians which show a figure in green with one leg raised meaning to walk and in red standing meaning not to walk. In many places a blue and white symbol for a schoolhouse warns of children. We also need symbols for STOP and YIELD RIGHT OF WAY and others. If Esperanto were adopted as the international language of the U.N.O., all bilingual countries could use it for domestic use. Canada is fortunate that our two languages use the same alphabet and spell many words the same or almost so. We can be thankful that the name Canada is spelled the same. The fact that in French, adjectives follow the noun and in English they precede it, suggests a doubling up of many printed items using the two languages together. As an example: on a menu HOT BEEF and BOEUF CHAUD could be combined thus - HOT BIF CHAUD. In this example, the word BIF is a standardized phonetical substitute for the words BEEF AND BOEUF. This method would save a lot of space and extra printing.

27)- Turning to the centrifugal forces deriving from our historical and geographical background, we have seen how our general thin east-west distribution of population has been somewhat of a disadvantage economically. The distribution of ethnic stocks has also tended to be concentrated in separate areas. The rapid large scale settlement of Upper Canada by the English prevented any movement by the French into the same area. Whatever French settlement there has been in Ontario has been scattered throughout southern Ontario (Windsor, Welland, Georgian Bay, etc.). Elsewhere it has been northward and along the Quebec border. The French settlements in the west are likewise scattered. New Brunswick is the only other province with any kind of wide distribution of French, like Quebec. In British Columbia, it is almost non-existent. The numerical strength and distribution of the two languages has a great political influence. Certain ridings may be said to be solidly French, Irish, Catholic, Protestant, or whatever else. One may reasonably suspect that B.C.'s Premier Bennett's coolness towards the French and Quebec interests is chiefly because there are no solidly French ridings in that province. It is surprising how completely hostility toward

a race or religion can be changed by hope of future votes from the previous targets of that hostility. When a certain Conservative politician spoke in a rural Orange riding during a provincial by-election, he said that the French are a conquered race and that they should not expect any special religious or educational privileges. Later when he became provincial premier, this same man criticized family allowances as a plot to subsidize the large families of Quebec. But when he ran as federal party leader, which no one had foreseen, he showed a sudden friendship for the French and their language. During the election campaigns, the opposition French-language press asked him in their editorials, "Are we a conquered race now?" The Manitoba and Saskatchewan rebellions which were lead by Riel, were as much the products of geography plus technology as they were of racial and political hostility. All historians agree that historical events have many causes besides those officially given. For example, the American Civil War really resulted from conflict between the high tariff policy in the north and the low tariff policy of the south. The ostensible issues of slavery were raised by the north for propaganda purposes. The south used the state's rights issue for the same purpose. One may reasonably suspect that the present separatist agitation is due more to economics and geography than to language and politics. Geography, industry and politics together create a chain reaction where it is hard to distinguish cause from effect. All these in turn affect race and language relation and developments.

- 28)- The wellspring of a culture is its religion, or lack of it. Even a casual study of Canadian history reveals the dominant role of religion in Canada's history. We all know something of the first missionaries to the Indians and how some met their martyrdom. All through later Canadian history the role of the Catholic Church as teacher, ruler, protector and spiritual sustainer runs like a leitmotif. Later with the coming of the English Protestants, Canada inherited the tradition of liberty, industry, education and progress which sprang from the reformed church principles which they brought with them from the American colonies and from the old country. The juxtaposition of two such different religious communities produced the same political, racial and social animosities which had marred Europe's history for two centuries after the Reformation. In view of these

unhappy aspects, we cannot wonder that many people agree with the contention of Jehovah's Witnesses that religion and government together constitute what they call "the devil's organization, Babylon, the beast of Revelation, etc." The more recent admixture of Jewish and Eastern Orthodox elements with Canadian life has helped to reduce the sharp conflict between Catholic and Protestant. Nowhere has religious conflict shown itself more noticeably than in the field of public education. To understand the difference between Catholic and Protestant views on public education, one must know something of the basic philosophy and background of the respective traditions. In the first place, formal theology has little to do with it, although they may quote verses from the Bible to justify their positions.

- 29)- Following the conquest of the Roman Empire by the northern tribes, the Latin Patriarchate remained as the only remnant of the former Roman civilization. In the dark ages, the Latin Patriarch functioned as a temporal ruler of much of Italy in the absence of stable, permanent government by the German invaders. The temporal power of the Western Church was retained during the feudal or sometimes called medieval era. In this period, the Church provided the only education and social welfare available to the people. While it was crude and primitive by present standards, it was better than nothing. At that time, there was little education and social welfare to provide and most secular rulers were too busy fighting one another to waste time providing frills for the lower classes. The Church-founded universities provided the only haven of civilization amidst the savage struggle of secular society, therefore the Church acquired the social and moral responsibility of providing education and social welfare through default on the part of the governments. The Renaissance deepened the appreciation of general learning beyond the bounds of Christian thought alone. The Reformation carried on in Northern Europe the general desire for education which began with the Renaissance. The counter-reformation in southern or Catholic Europe produced a different policy in regards to public education. Whereas in Northern Europe secular agencies including governments began to take responsibility of providing

general education for more people; in southern Europe the successor to the medieval general European Church was guaranteed its traditional role as chief educator. The result was that with the general decline of the Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, education declined with it, while in northern Europe, especially in Prussia, general education progressed until it became universal, free and compulsory in the elementary grades. In the New World where Protestant and Catholic people were mixed together, the two educational concepts were thrown together in sharp contrast. The Catholic clergy, both French and Irish, met the challenge of secular education by providing Church-sponsored schools. In Quebec they had a compliant provincial government which did not force public schools on the people and which at the same time assisted the confessional schools financially; furthermore, it did not try to compete with confessional schools with provincial universities and other public educational institutions. Elsewhere in Canada, Church schools became "separate schools" which are financed by taxes which are diverted from the support of the public or non-denominational schools. In the United States, in order to conform to the Bill of Rights amendment to the Constitution, Church schools remain as strictly private schools and are privately financed. Their supporters also pay the public school taxes. Throughout Canada, there is a great difference in regard to the role of religion in public education due to administration of education by the provincial government. Like the United States, we have had some controversy over the propriety of religious education and exercises in state-owned schools.

- 30)- Religious differences also influence marriage and divorce laws. The Catholic and some Protestant Churches oppose divorce and civil marriage. The result is nation-wide contradiction and confusion. The federal government can dissolve marriages for people living in provinces without divorce laws. While all provinces have jurisdiction over marriage, not all provide divorce. Civil marriage is provided everywhere for people without religious belief or any particular denominational affiliation. Catholics may end marriage by getting an annulment from the Vatican.
- 31)- Other areas of religious conflict are: censorship of books, films, drama, art and other media by which moral tastes may be corrupted; prohibition of birth-control information; opposition to sterilization; regulations about adopting children by parents of different religion than the children; prohibition of alcoholic beverages; opposition to military service and conscription; restriction of the right of minorities to canvass and proselytize; opposition to medical treatment and certain medical practices; opposition to certain kinds or amounts of education; difference of attitudes on certain economic and political ideologies. One can go on down the list of issues dividing people everywhere and some religion or other will be involved in each.

Most will agree that these issues seldom involve theology or formal dogma. Most often, they involve philosophy or ethics. Once there is better and more general understanding of the distinction between the theological, philosophical and ethical aspects of all religions, then we will be better able to reach agreement on any issue in which religious difference plays a part. Another divisive effect of religion as it is organized and practised in Canada is the uneven distribution of Church membership among certain racial and language groups and social and economic classes. For example, the French are solidly Catholic; the Greeks are solidly Orthodox; the Norwegians are solidly Lutheran; most Scotch are Presbyterians; most Dutch are Calvinist, and so on. The racial proportions of the larger denominations are directly reflected in the geographical distribution of the same denominations. To a large extent the racial cohesion or clannishness of a particular ethnic group varies according to the preponderance of a particular Church in that ethnic group. Among the Scandinavians and Slavics the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches are nationally organized. For instance, the Norwegian synod is independent from the Finnish, and the Carpathians have their own episcopal jurisdiction independent from the Ukrainians. The use of a foreign vernacular in the worship tends to preserve the distinctive nationalism of many Protestant and Orthodox racial blocs, whereas the universal use of Latin in the worship tends to centralize the episcopal government of Catholics of all language groups. However, most bishops in Canada are French or Irish. The distribution of Church membership according to class or individual psychological types does not help national or religious unity either. For example, Anglicans and Christian Scientists are mostly upper class and of old families; the Mennonites are mostly rural; the Jews are mostly urban; Unitarianism appeals to people of independent mind while Jehovah's Witnesses render unquestioning obedience to their world headquarters. The Pentecostal groups are most numerous in poorer districts. The Jewish Church is restricted to the Hebrew race, whereas the Catholic and Mormon Churches appeal to and include all races and social groups and individual types. It is too early to see whether the growing ecumenical movement will break down the barriers to national unity which religious bigotry has created. The most striking example of the effort to keep the French isolated from the English was when the Bishop of Sherbrooke prohibited Catholic laymen from joining service clubs such as the Lions and the Rotary. There is also the opposition to Catholic youth patronizing the Y.M.C.A. which claims to be non-denominational. All these are either condemned as "neutral" inasmuch as they are not sponsored by the Church and do not operate within it, or they represent some false religion disguised as something else. Opposition to neutralism is justified by quoting the saying of Christ, "He who is not with me is against me." Human nature being what it is, movements and efforts

toward inter-Christian understanding will always be opposed by fundamentalists and dissenters who love discord rather than good will.

32)-

While politics may not usually be considered to be a form of culture, nevertheless the political traditions of the British and French colour their thinking and feeling and thus influence their culture. Canadian politics is the merging together of two very different political traditions; the centralized paternalism of the ancien regime and the autonomous local government of the American English colonies. The centralized paternalism of the ancien regime derived from the absolute monarchy of King Louis XIV of France who summed up the 17th century concept of government and the state in the neat phrase "L'etat c'est moi". In practice, the absolute power was considerably diluted by the bureaucrats from the chief minister down. While there were local or municipal authorities, they carried out decrees issued from Paris instead of local by-laws adopted by elected residents. While it was absolute, it was not totalitarian in the modern sense of the word. There was considerably more freedom of speech, political action, criticism, and opposition than in the modern one-party "democracies". Under absolutism the average citizen was content to "let George do it". This lack of individual responsibility suited the fur traders and settlers who had no time for bother with government. The economic side of absolutism consisted of exclusive franchises or "monopolies" to certain individuals to engage in certain trades in certain districts. Also, the distribution of monopolies was strictly controlled in every district. In modern terms this corresponded to fascism, but it was a form of state control of private enterprise common to all of western Europe. The centralized paternalism of the ancien regime took firm root in New France where it has survived to this day. In England, the theoretically absolute royal power had been considerably diminished in actual practice by Parliament in the civil war against King Charles I and the constitutionists against King James II. The restoration of the monarchy had driven most of the republicans to take refuge in the American colonies. The republican and other non-conformist elements were responsible for the development of an active local self-government independent from London. Local laws were framed in the famous New England "town meetings". Although they were politically royalists, the United Empire Loyalists brought with them their ideas of limited monarchy and local autonomy. The union of the two Parliaments of Upper and Lower Canada brought the first major clash between the two traditions. The subsequent Confederation implied a recognition that some compromise was imperative. Canadian politics has since then been a process of adjustment to the machinery of government which was created by the British North America Act (B.N.A. Act). One might also say that Canadian politics has been an effort to make it work. As a result of trial and error and survival of many national crises it has worked

fairly well, considering the odds against it.

33)-

Before mentioning the most outstanding Canadian political developments in terms of the French-English partnership, we should first of all keep in mind Sir Wilfrid Laurier's famous observation that politics for the Canadien is an emotional involvement in terms of racial, linguistic and religious survival; whereas for the Canadian it is a more intellectual interest in abstract issues or principles. This statement may be an over-simplification because all politicians seek office mainly for money and personal prestige. Furthermore, when in office they have to operate by political horse-trading or give and take. The Canadien politicians have not displayed that talent so well. Another maxim is that all government works by and for pressure groups who exert their influence through open or secret lobbying. Therefore we may define a politician as a man who is upheld by equal pressure from all directions. The Riel affair created the first crisis for the MacDonald government. Although Sir John A. adroitly handled the Manitoba rebellion's aftermath, the Saskatchewan rebellion forced him to take a definite firm stand about hanging Riel in spite of alienating Quebec support for the Conservative party. The Commons debate on commuting Riel's death sentence provided a young M.P. from Arthabaska riding his opportunity to speak as the champion of French Canada. While the Canadian Pacific Railroad scandal did not particularly concern Quebec's rights, it did defeat the first government and served to show that Quebec M.P.s also had feet of clay. It did show that at Ottawa the representatives from Quebec were not always shining knights in armour devoted solely to defending Quebec's rights. Sir John A. made his final come-back with his protective tariff platform which he cleverly labelled "National Policy", and with which he recovered much Quebec support. After the death of the Grand Old Man, the Conservatives lost their hold over Quebec by misfortune and fumbling. The misfortune was the untimely death of Sir John Thompson, a convert to Catholicism. The worst fumbling was the federal government's disallowance of the Manitoba legislature's Act which abolished separate schools in that province. Laurier showed great foresight in using this issue to champion provincial autonomy. His victory was a great milestone on the road toward national unity because it showed that the Quebec voters could vote independently of the Church and were not always swayed by racial or religious issues. The bishops had represented Manitoba's action as racial as well as religious discrimination. It also ended the federal influence of the Ontario Orange Lodge because it had paradoxically supported the Conservatives and separate schools. It stood exposed as a prop of the Tories. The Manitoba School question was a Canadian cause celebre and put Quebec into the Liberal fold (at Ottawa) until the present except for two brief Conservative wins in

1930 and 1958. In Manitoba itself the repercussions are still evident. The nationalist feeling in Quebec showed itself in the rejection of Laurier's Reciprocity trade treaty with the U.S.A. The chief apostle of French nationalism was Henri Bourassa who for a time threatened to supplant Laurier as Quebec's "Chef". He used Laurier's original springboard to power, defence of Canadian rights. In the first decade of the new century the Laurier government was caught between three pulls - British imperialism, Canadian nationalism and American continentalism. The impossible attempt to ride three horses at once defeated Laurier in 1911. Again, the Conservatives were hampered by mediocrity and fumbling. Sir Robert Borden found himself in the same position as Laurier but did not show equal talent in political juggling. The conscription issue in 1917 caused a nation-wide split as serious as the Riel affair. This time the Quebecois had allies in the rest of Canada. Conscription was also opposed by a new element in Canada, organized labour, which was to play an increasingly powerful role in Parliament as well as in industry. During the comparative prosperity of the twenties, racial relations were not disturbed by any political issues. The constitutional issue caused by Lord Byng's handling of the 1935 parliamentary deadlock was too technical for the average voter to get excited about, although it still has particular significance. Canada had attained national independence from Britain which was formally embodied in the Statute of Westminster signed in 1931. Its two chief architects were Borden and King; Borden because he asserted an independent Canadian foreign policy respecting the Treaty of Versailles and King because he set up Canadian embassies abroad. It is interesting to note that Canada's right to change her constitution, which was originally an Act of the British Parliament at Westminster, was excepted from the other transfers of legislative powers from Westminster to the capitals of the overseas Commonwealth nations. The Quebec autonomy lobby was afraid that Ottawa might later infringe upon Quebec's special privileges if it should undertake to exercise its new powers of constitutional amendment. The B.N.A. Act was not excepted because of sentimental attachment to Westminster. During the depression of the thirties people were more inclined to seek remedies for economic ills in radical economic and political panaceas. In Quebec, the trend was more toward corporatism and elsewhere in Canada toward democratic socialism. Right-wing radicalism outside Quebec took the form of Social Credit and left-wing radicalism took the form of Moscow communism (to distinguish it from the other splinter groups). In 1936 the extremely reactionary Maurice Duplessis became premier of Quebec and soon began to suppress civil liberties with clerical approval, and as alleged, at clerical instigation. It is ironical that Duplessis' encouragement of foreign capital

investment in the province and the increased industrialization should have resulted in stimulating the same progressive forces which he tried to suppress. During the thirties the secret Ordre de Jacques Cartier acquired much influence in high provincial government circles. It was a Canadian version of the right-wing Rexists of Belgium and opposed Masonic, liberal and progressive influences. Except for the liberal government of Adelard Godbout, 1939 to 1944, Duplessis ruled the province absolutely until his death. The valiant efforts of Adelard Godbout to institute free, public and non sectarian education like the other provinces went long unnoticed by the rest of Canada and is practically forgotten. This was due to the smoke screen which Mackenzie King deliberately laid over the two Canadas. By isolating each from the other, the Liberal party kept itself in power by the old formula of "divide and rule". The management of the war effort from 1939 till 1945 reflected the same tactics. The outlawing of antiwar groups was designed to remove possible discouragement of voluntary enlistment. It was hoped that a large enlistment would prevent a repetition of the controversial conscription crisis of 1918. However, in 1944 the survival of Axis strength forced the government to impose a degree of conscription. Although the 1942 plebiscite on conscription indicated a majority approval of conscription for overseas service and thereby relieved the government of having to choose conscription, still national division was clearly evident by the small affirmative vote in Quebec. Quebec opposition to conscription was not due so much to opposition to authoritarianism per se, as shown by their tolerance of Duplessis' police state and "Padlock Law", but by coolness to the allied cause itself. Earlier in the war, there was much hostility to Canada supporting the Jewish controlled and leftist government of Leon Blum in France. Naturally, the fascist regime of Marshal Petain drew considerable Canadian support, even to the extent of continuing diplomatic relations with the Vichy government or "L'etat francais". This revealed the power of the Ordre de Jacques Cartier in Ottawa also. Canadian support was further alienated by the internment of Mayor Camillen Houde early in the war. The final blow to Canadian unity was the alliance with Russia although it was unsought. Quebec disaffection took the form of a splinter party of former Quebec Liberals which was called "Bloc Populaire". Canada's acceptance of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements which represented a surrender to Russia and the ratification by Parliament of the International Monetary Fund as our agency for converting Canadian money abroad, convinced the average Jean-Baptiste that the only good the war had accomplished was to increase employment. The succession of Mackenzie King by Louis St. Laurent helped to allay some of the war-time animosities. Despite his skilful handling of some touchy matters of foreign policy, the Quebec

nationalists continued to grow stronger at Ottawa. They have shown some remarkable inconsistency regarding provincial autonomy, the inviolability of the B.N.A. Act and their equation of "nationalism" with "provincial autonomy". Their supreme inconsistency was when they voted in 1949 to abolish appeals from the Supreme Court of Canada to the Privy Council of Britain as the highest judicial body to interpret Canadian law. Since Canada's judicial system was created by the B.N.A. Act, the 1949 act of the Canadian Parliament actually amounted to an amendment of the constitution which it did not have the power to do by the Statute of Westminster. Yet these same nationalists who demonstrated their hatred for Britain don't want Canada to take over Britain's power to change the 1867 federal-provincial set-up. One can point out many other inconsistencies. One can only conclude that they are not sincere or they are terribly mixed up. In the three decades after the first war, third and fourth parties sprang up and made a good showing at Ottawa as well as taking power in some provinces. The present decade may witness their decline. What will take their place? The inconclusive results of the last two federal elections may lead back to the former two party system. In order for it to successfully function, there must be a definite difference between the two parties in order to give the electorate a real choice. The present merging of the platforms of the various parties into one form or other of state welfarism threatens the two party system. As we adopt a bipartisan policy on more and more issues, we are approaching an equivalent to the one-party of Russia. The same trend is apparent in all highly organized industrial societies. Depending upon the degree of dissatisfaction with all the present parties, a new party having an entirely different kind of platform from the others may challenge them as a third new party after the disappearance of Social Credit and New Democrats. Whatever the items of its platform, its platform would have to anticipate the future far enough to justify its existence as a definite alternative to the other parties who are clinging to past economic and political ideologies. Furthermore, it would have to declare a definite and open stand on issues relating to national unity, in contrast to the "me too" ism of the others. The soporific double-talk of the four party leaders does not succeed in promoting good will and only serves to becloud the issues. We need men like Laurier and MacDonald who are not afraid to take a stand. The drifting apart of the two Canadas has not been prevented by spouting pious platitudes.

34)- It is obvious that we need a new constitution. Even the former autonomists now admit that. The constitution of 1867 was admirably suited to the horse and buggy era and steam locomotives. That era is scientifically classified by Lewis Mumford as the "paleotechnic" era. Since then, not only

new modes of transportation and communication, but also new forms of industrialization and new concepts of society and government have appeared and require a new machinery of government combined with new ideologies to cope with the revolutionary changes in our society since 1867. Our efforts to fumble along with our outdated constitution is like putting new wine in old bottles (skin containers). Two tragedies in modern Canadian history are due to the misapplication of the B.N.A. Act; one was the buck-passing between the federal, provincial and municipal government to avoid financial responsibility to provide relief for multitudes of unemployed during the depression of the 30's. The general lack of social responsibility was perfectly summarized by the statement of a Liberal Prime Minister early in 1930 that he would not give a nickel to a Tory provincial government (to provide relief); the other tragedy has been discrimination against racial and religious minorities by certain provincial governments. In 1912 the Ontario government abolished the use of French in public schools throughout French districts. After much protest, it relaxed that policy. In Quebec during the Duplessis era, French Baptist churches were closed by the provincial police on the pretext of enforcing the padlock law which was sufficiently vague to legally permit such high-handed actions. It took nearly twenty-five years to get that law (officially called an Act against subversive literature and activity) declared ultra vires by the Supreme Court of Canada. The strange thing was that provincial autonomy in certain fields was meant to guarantee minority rights. The Fathers of Confederation overlooked human nature and unforeseen population changes. Also unforeseen was the vast increase of government organization and control of daily life. There has been much confusion and conflict between Ottawa and the provincial governments as to which government should administer new ministries not specifically apportioned by the B.N.A. Act. In terms of nineteenth century circumstances, the very clear division of authority between the federal and provincial levels of government represented a balance between central and local administration. However, since the second quarter of this century contemporary technology has produced an interdependent or interlocking social system. It transcends and ignores previous boundaries between government levels if it does not nullify them. In terms of the present day Canadian economy there is about as much agreement and co-operation on national fiscal and social policy between the ten provincial governments and the federal as if they were eleven separate nations situated on all the continents. The separation of Quebec would at least end some of the tug of war that goes on at the annual dominion-provincial conferences. It is also preferable to the ridiculous "associate nation" idea recently put forth by Hon. Rene Levesque.

He appears very much to be saying that Quebec should have its cake and eat it. We all seem to forget that the same taxpayer pays for all this duplication, red tape and competition for the biggest share of the gravy. The same taxpayer, whether he is John Miller from Medicine Hat, Alberta or Jean Meunier from La Salle, Quebec, has three or four tax-collecting hands in his pockets. He is supposed to be the ultimate recipient of all the benefits of the government machinery. The effectiveness of any kind of social welfare depends, like any other kind of organized charity, upon how much of the money collected goes to the ultimate beneficiary.

35)- In addition to the inadequacy of our constitution to cope with nation-wide fiscal and social problems, is its lack of guarantee of individual personal rights. Although we have inherited from Britain a monarchical government apparatus, we did not inherit the guarantees and basic rights which the Americans borrowed from Britain and which they included in their constitution as the Bill of Rights which clearly limited the powers of the state over the citizen. Our recent bill of rights passed by Parliament, while better than nothing, is no substitute for a constitutional limitation of government powers, regardless of what level. No new or amended Canadian constitution will be worth much without such a self-limiting Bill of Rights. While a certain amount of flexibility is required for any constitution to adjust to changing conditions, there are certain basic premises which must limit the degree of latitude of government powers. It is difficult to say to what extent the obsolescence of our constitution has contributed to national division; certainly it has aggravated existing friction.

36)- Discussion of friction between the federal and provincial governments brings to mind the most divisive factor of all our bicultural relations - separatism. To begin with, it must be kept in mind that the conquest of 1760 sowed the seeds of separatism which have since been sprouting every so often and in different ways. By 1760 the inhabitants of New France were several generations removed from the mother land, therefore they thought of Quebec as their native land because after 1700 immigration had slowed down. The result was that there was little new or renewed contact by later immigrants. There was a sharp decrease in the number of people in Quebec who continued to think of the land of their birth as home. The top government and church officials were the only ones who kept in touch with Paris, but they had little direct contact with the colonists. Their isolation from the world, due originally to the barriers of distance and primitive living conditions, was increased by later developments. In order to prevent subversion, nearly all French-born government officials and some clergy were deported back to France. They were later joined by many business

and professional people who left Canada voluntarily. This left only the native-born Quebec clergy to provide leadership. The Canadiens were already isolated from the other white settlers to the south by differences of language and religion. The Quebec Act helped them to adjust to the change in political rule, without any appreciable change in their social institutions. The consecration of Bishop Begin ensured the survival of the Church which was such an important part of their lives. The revolution in France cut the remaining links with their original mother country and which were not resumed until the thirties of this century. For all practical purposes, Canada is their mother country and France is as remotely so as Denmark is to the Yorkshireman or the Norman.

37)-

The influence of the French revolution and the victories of Napoleon Bonaparte was quite apparent in a brief upsurge of Canadien radicalism. Napoleon's prestige was shown by the many children who were named for him. Was he not the conqueror of their conquerors? This attitude was not shared by the clergy who also took a dim view of the 1837 Rebellion. Therefore they opposed the rebellion in Lower Canada in 1837. Unfortunately, this fact was not appreciated by the Quebec English, loyalists and rebels alike. It was typical of the fog of ignorance concerning the changing relations of the Catholic Church with the secular leaders which still persists among English-speaking Canadians. The rebels of Lower Canada had as their goal the creation of a French-language republic on the lines of the radical traditions of Europe rather than the tolerant liberal ideology of the American republic of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. The next separatist episode was the Riel affair. Before the Manitoba rebellion, Riel and the Metis had a genuine constitutional and legal case which was widely supported by most of the white settlers around Fort Garry. At this stage, public opinion in Quebec was not particularly concerned about Riel, due to the isolation of the Metis. It was only after the defeat and arrest of Riel that the matter became a national issue. Even then, it did not arouse any separatist repercussions in Quebec. Sir John A. MacDonald secretly had Riel sneaked out of the country under the subterfuge of an "escape". Riel's foolishness in getting mixed up in the Saskatchewan uprising cost him the support of the Catholic Church which had been quite sympathetic in the Manitoba rebellion. Riel furthermore alienated the clergy with his wild talk about starting up a new North American Catholic Church. This could be interpreted as an undercurrent of lay reaction against the ultramontanist faction which had prevailed at the Vatican Council of 1871. This fact was ignored by the militant Orangemen of Ontario who were determined that Riel should pay this time. Quebec defended

him more for racial motives than for religious ones. In the latter part of the 19th century, the triumph of ultramontaniam in the Church led to a policy of more open intervention by the clergy into what had heretofore been secular matters. The Manitoba School question of 1896 well illustrated that. The adroit leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier helped to smother aggressive separatist political agitation. Until the 1930's Henri Bourassa led the only kind of nationalist movement. However, it differed from what is now called "Quebec nationalism" in that it attempted to win equality for all French throughout Canada and to achieve immediately the national independence which later came through the Statute of Westminster in 1931. What was most commendable about Henri Bourassa's nationalism was that it did not limit Canadianism to one province and that he did not exaggerate provincial autonomy at the expense of national unity. Above all, he had no axe to grind for foreign ideologies. He was progressive enough to be a personal friend and sympathizer of J. S. Woodsworth, yet he was loyally devoted to his ancestral religious, racial and language traditions. If he were alive, he would scornfully dismiss the totalitarian-minded adolescents who are running the separatist show.

38)- The depression of the nineteen-thirties turned nationalist thought toward economic theories rather than political independence alone. The Stalinist terror in Russia had disillusioned many who would otherwise have adopted communism as the economic platform of nationalism. Corporatism appealed to many as the most suitable alternative to dog-eat-dog capitalism and godless state dictatorship. For Quebec, capitalism was identified with Protestantism, Masonry, Americanism and Jewish bankers, all of whom were agents of Anglicization. Furthermore, the rural co-operatives and credit unions were the most important enterprise not under outside domination. Corporatist ideology is based on partnership between the state employers and labour, organized by each industry in "national corporations". At this time Quebec trades-unions were church-affiliated. While Duplessis suppressed communist activity and foreign-affiliated trades unions in order to attract American capital, he had no particular interest in abstract corporatist theories. The supporters of corporatism were sincere progressives who felt that social progress could be brought about by class co-operation instead of class conflict. They were repelled by the Marxist tone of the Regina manifesto of the newly formed C.C.F. The people felt that their own financial and industrial institutions which they had created had a better chance of survival under corporatism than under any other "ism". The prestige of corporatism was given a great boost by the 1931 Papal Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" of Pope Pius XI. This launched the campaign of Catholic

Action whose political orientation seemed to favour corporatism and other right-wing parties although it did not officially favour any political party, other than non leftists. The Ordre de Jacques Cartier was a local ethnic variation of it. Social Credit did not at first appeal to the Quebecois because of its English fundamentalist Protestant origin and its funny money theory. Corporatism was not organized as a political party. Its economic program was adopted by a Nazi front party whose real program was anti-Jewish racial hatred, led by a Canadien named Adrien Arcand. Despite Arcand's personal popularity, the racial bias of the movement left most Canadiens cold. By the end of the 30's, having developed a sort of Canadien economic nationalism, the proponents of corporatism were ready to launch out into a political independence movement combined with corporatism, if not inspired by it. It envisaged a new all-French state called "Laurentie", its followers being called "Laurentiens". "Laurentie" was to include also some of the New England states and the maritime provinces which were or had been largely French populated. The Laurentian separatist idea equated race and language with political nationality. It perfectly suited the political romanticism of the French and would wipe out the stigma of the conquest. Historically, it was a North American version of political Zionism and German racial nationalism. Laurentianism enjoyed great popularity and might have succeeded if the war had not been going on. Washington took a very dim view of it as a potential military and economic trojan horse for Axis penetration of the continent. We may never know the whole story of its disappearance as an active organization, but we can guess that Washington must have exerted some pressure. There is no doubt that it survives among the right-wing supporters of the current separatism.

- 39)- Before considering the present Quebec separatism, we should recall that English-speaking Canada has indulged in it also. The first notable instance was the annexationist agitation of 1849 in Montreal. The F.L.Q. will never match that for mob violence and race hatred. Later there was Professor Goldwin Smith of Toronto who had swallowed the manifest destiny idea. Being an Englishman to begin with detracted from the force of his campaign and reduced his persuasiveness, although he had quite a following among the university circles. He also had to overcome Sir John A. MacDonald's brand of Canadian nationalism which politically leaned toward Britain, but not unreasonably so. Goldwin Smith was followed by Joseph E. Atkinson, founder of the Toronto Star. He was engaged in active intrigue to bring about annexation. Prime Minister King showed a strong American leaning, although he never engaged in any extreme annexationist activity. One main difference between English-Canadian separatism (from Confederation) and the

French is that the latter aims to become isolated or independent from the rest of the continent, while the former leans toward the U.S.A. The reason for this attraction has been noted above. There is also a group of Canadians who want a Canadian republic independent of the U.S.A. While very vocal, they are not numerous or well organized. They include many leftists and New Canadians and Irish among the older British stock. The best known group favouring this idea is the Native Sons of Canada Lodge. It has long campaigned for a distinctive Canadian flag. In the event of Quebec becoming an independent republic, it is probable that the rest of Canada would become an independent republic also. It would have greater difficulty than Quebec in maintaining its independence from the United States, especially in foreign affairs.

40)-

The present day Quebec separatism is not a new phenomenon by any means, neither is it basically different than before. Its distinguishing feature is its emphasis on economic independence and the youthfulness of its leaders. To paraphrase the title of a movie about teenagers - They are rebels in search of a cause. Quebec separatism also differs in the lack of support from the ordinary populace. Although it has demonstrated a strong anticlerical policy, especially in regard to education, the Church is officially non-committal if not silent. This may be interpreted as a "wait and see" policy. Excepting Caouette's Creditists, no political party goes all the way in endorsing separatism on the provincial level or rejecting it outright on the federal level. The French dailies are definitely hostile, while the weeklies are much more sympathetic. The separatists themselves are publishing a considerable amount of literature, mostly monthlies. The greatest weakness of Quebec separatism is its division into so many factions and its secrecy. Furthermore, the leadership of the various factions is limited mainly to university students and teachers, civil servants and other professional classes. Furthermore, this intellectual group is limited to the larger cities, particularly Montreal. The general lack of interest and active participation by the people in general does not augur well for its success. In fact, most Quebecois are merely spectators of their youthful political pranks. So far, it has not met with as favourable general response as the Laurentien separatism of two decades ago. It would appear that the bombings and loud talk are more of a means of gaining publicity than an expression of real hostility against the Anglais. Some of the more puerile stunts have produced the opposite effect to that intended. Last autumn's demonstration at the official opening of the Place des Arts disgusted everybody, because the occasion was one of civic pride without political or royal significance. Rene Chaput's fast was another stunt that

flopped. Like the civil rights demonstrators in the States, the separatists are alienating those people whose support they are seeking. After the reactionary Duplessis regime, the pent up radicalism of the younger generation is bursting forth. They have discovered socialism for the first time and it will take them some time to digest it. Nationalization of foreign-owned industries and utilities is a fascinating new political toy. Premier Lesage took some of the steam out of separatism by adopting its slogan "soyons maitre chez nous" in the last provincial election and by his subsequent nationalization of privately owned power plants. It made everybody feel very patriotic, but they have to dig deeper in their pockets to pay the cost of compensating the foreign shareholders who are not losing much money in the whole transaction. Although nationalization of foreign-owned private industry and hostility to the United States is not of communist origin, certain crypto-communists in the separatist movement are taking advantage of these attitudes to split and weaken this country. One sure result of separatism, whether or not it succeeds in "liberating" Quebec, will be to hamper the increase of bilingualism outside Quebec. Even under the most favourable circumstances, it will take some time to sell this idea, which is a new one, to the governments of the other provinces, especially in the west. Another result of separatism will be the embarrassment of the French who have moved elsewhere to get better jobs. I can hardly imagine them returning to a Republique Quebecoise except in the unlikely event that it becomes more prosperous than Canada. If the separatists are sincerely opposed to foreign domination of their province, why don't they demonstrate before the embassies of countries that have more money invested in Quebec than the British have? Why don't they demonstrate against Canada's membership in the International Monetary Fund? Why don't they blow up the communist headquarters in Montreal? The opposition to British symbols makes little sense in view of the much smaller proportion of British investment than of American or of the Rothschilds. Could it be inspired by French financial interests seeking economic domination of a militarily weak and separated French country? The socialist line of the various separatist publications like "la revue socialist", etc. may be dismissed as youthful enthusiasm and naivete; the presence of professional agitators from Europe and Cuba can not be dismissed. What is wrong with the immigration authorities? Why do they let these dangerous people in when they hound unfortunate stowaways? The Creditistes and other right-wing elements are also trying to use separatism as a springboard to power. It is true that there has been from the start a strongly right-wing faction among the separatists, led by Prof. Barbeau. No doubt it is a remnant of the earlier Laurentians and

represents the older age element in the movement. The split between left and right without the moderating presence of a strong centre or liberal wing can only mean movement of a Quebec republic toward totalitarianism. One can easily imagine Quebec to be a northern Latin American style of republic ruled by successive coups d'etat by left- and right-wing generals. It could become another Dominican Republic or another Cuba. However, after a decade of general education and social and economic progress and industrialization which would bring up Quebec even with the rest of the continent, Quebec could be a very progressive and stable country. It is for this reason that the separatists support education and other kinds of progress so strongly. At its present stage, political independence for Quebec would be a disaster for itself and the rest of the continent. It appears to a sober person like a comic opera real life version of "Passport to Pimlico".

41)-

The chief reason why previous attempts and movements toward separatism have not succeeded was because of the predominantly agrarian type of society guided by clergy having a traditional, if not medieval, outlook. Furthermore, due to the isolation already mentioned, the progressive and revolutionary winds blowing elsewhere on the continent and in Europe were shut out of the consciousness of the Quebec people. Separatism has been less evident during the administration of French prime ministers at Ottawa. It would be a great step toward national unity if one of the other four parties chose a leader from Quebec, especially in the case of the Conservatives. Real Caouette is no longer a national leader. It would have been better if he had been chosen in the first place to lead the Social Credit. The most effective damper on separatism would be if a Conservative French Protestant ran against a Liberal Ukrainian Catholic for prime minister. That would make an interesting political contest. When anything like that happens, then Canada will have grown up into a real modern nation. So far, the Liberals have been the only federal party to alternate French and English leaders. Premier Lesage will likely succeed Pearson. He is astute enough to know when to quit playing along with the separatists. The present pace of industrialization resulting from development of the northern mineral resources and the shift of population from country to city may produce an urbanized and more class conscious "proletariat" which may be more receptive to nationalism and progress than the same semi-feudal and agrarian society of thirty years ago. Some of the more extreme elements still nursing the wounds of the conquest think of their province as an economic colony. To them, separatism is analogous to the liberation of the African and Asiatic colonies from Britain and France. They don't seem to realize that all the rest of Canada is under the same

foreign economic ownership and control, and is subject to the same political and financial control. On the other hand, if they proceed with nationalization of foreign owned, developed property as Brazil has the Canadian-owned Brazilian Traction utilities, foreign capital will all move out and no more will come in. Then they will be on their own. A policy of nationalization (confiscation is a more exact term) kills the goose that lays the golden egg. According to an independent survey made within the last year as reported in a feature article in Maclean's Magazine last fall, separatism had not then made much headway outside the big cities. What general dissatisfaction there was felt among the Canadiens was expressed in their protest vote for Social Credit in the last two federal elections. They were not particularly interested in monetary theories. It is significant that although fewer Social Credit members were elected in 1963, the popular vote for Social Credit increased somewhat. The recent split in Social Credit and the defection of two of Thompson's remaining members may weaken Social Credit as a form of protest vote. Caouette's Creditists seem to be adopting a more openly separatist tone. However, if Caouette thinks he can rally the rag-tag collection of left-wing separatist groups under the wing of the Creditists, he is greatly mistaken. Caouette let the cat out of the bag during the debate on nuclear weapons when he objected to bombs "sur le sol de L'etat de Quebec". It either meant one nation as distinct from the other nine provinces or eventually a nation distinct from Canada itself. The distinction is faint.

- 42)- The most unfavourable aspect of separatism is that it is really a form of segregation. It therefore contradicts the present day repudiation of segregation according to race, religion, colour, or language, which many regard as discrimination. The segregation of Quebec separatism is voluntary. The voluntary angle of segregation is generally overlooked because it involves the right of free association with whomever one desires. The current controversy in the southern states regarding civil rights and in South Africa regarding apartheid involves compulsory segregation which is not voluntarily accepted or practised. The proposed status of Quebec as an "associated nation" within Confederation is basically the same as the native Bantustan state being established in South Africa, except that in South Africa the central government has taken the initiative. While on the subject of segregation, we may ask if language segregation in Quebec or religious segregation in Ontario, which is represented by the Catholic schools, constitute a violation of human rights. This is a debatable point which only philosophers can answer. From the biocratic point of view, religious, language or national segregation, if voluntarily practised, does not violate

human rights. On the other hand, it represents the basic human right of free association. Although we are sure that only a noisy little communist-inspired clique is behind this separatism business, we should willingly permit Quebec to secede from the Canadian confederation if we really thought the majority of Quebecois wanted to. The right of national secession is implied in the right of political or economic self-determination which is guaranteed by the United Nations Charter. It is better to part sooner as friends than to be forced to let them go as enemies, as England found out in Ireland and France found out in Algeria.

43)- In considering this whole matter of bilingualism and biculturalism, one central fact must be emphasized and repeated: the French-Canadians have always thought of themselves as Canadians, not as French. If one were to single out any particular secular organization that has done the most to foster this distinct Canadianism, it is la Societe de Saint Jean-Baptiste. The story of this patriotic organization is an inspiring one. To witness a June 24th parade in the cities of Quebec province leaves a feeling of disappointment that a similar manifestation of Canadianism is not sponsored by some organization in the rest of Canada. It would help to assimilate the recent European immigrants more thoroughly. However, the S.S.J.-B. would make an even greater contribution to national unity if all Canadiens were in it, including Protestants. At present its local organization coincides with Roman Catholic parishes. There are no Baptist local branches of the S.S.J.-B. I hope to see the day when Protestant and Orthodox branches of the S.S.J.-B. have floats in the June 24th parade. The S.S.J.-B. could be described as the French-Canadian version of the Irish St. Patrick's Society, the Scotch St. Andrew's Society, and the Welsh St. David's Society. Like them, it is non-political and is not based on hostility toward other ethnic groups because it adheres to the principle that honouring one's own ancestral and religious traditions need not imply hostility toward those of others. The S.S.J.-B. differs from the other national societies inasmuch as it did not originate in France as an emigre society, since the patron saint of the French is St. Louis. This fact gives it its exclusively Canadian character. It would be fine if it were the national society of Canadian emigres abroad, whatever their ethnic origin. The contribution of the S.S.J.-B. has been a constructive one to Canadianism as a whole. While it is natural that the S.S.J.-B. should be identified almost exclusively with the Roman Catholic Church and the St. George's Society with the Anglican Church, it would contribute more to national unity if these national societies were more broadly representative according to religious affiliation. Among themselves they seldom use the French equivalent of

the term French-Canadian. When the average resident of Ontario is asked his nationality (i.e. his racial or ancestral country extraction), he would probably answer that he is English or Scotch or German, etc., whereas the Canadien would likely answer that he is Canadien because Canada is his ancestral country. This limitation of Canadianism to the east side of the Ottawa River, so to speak, is reflected in the different ways they look at various national questions. I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that the Quebecois think of international issues and our own foreign policy in terms of Canada's interest whereas in Ontario, for instance, they think of Canada's foreign policy in terms of the interests of some other foreign country or bloc, depending on individual sympathies. In today's cold war, the Canadien adopts a more or less neutralist foreign policy. While detesting Russia and communism just as strongly as the Americans do, he feels that the Russian question is primarily a European matter, which should not involve this continent and certainly not this country. This explains the general opposition to having nuclear war-heads in Quebec. It is difficult to get the Canadiens away from their isolationist, Canada first outlook. However, there is a growing sense of Canadianism elsewhere in Canada; at least there is a consciousness of trying to develop one. At present national consciousness is more of a vacuum which they are to fill. But with what?

- 44)- One is inclined to wonder if the separatist demonstrations are not more of a despairing gesture of protest against the lack of a similar feeling or consciousness of a Canadianism on the part of English-speaking Canada rather than an expression of hostility toward them. There is certainly no doubt that the rest of Canada has been very remiss in its formal observance of national events. To start with, we don't honour the founder of our country, Samuel de Champlain, as the Americans honour George Washington, the founder of their country. While we commemorate confederation on July 1st, we don't honour MacDonald, the chief architect of confederation, as Americans honour Lincoln, the preserver of the Union. How many Canadians west of the Ottawa River know about Adam Dollard or Madeleine de Vercheres? If we officially proclaimed Champlain's birthday as a statutory holiday, the Quebecois wouldn't object to us still observing Victoria Day. It was not wise to mark May 23 as Empire Day and then to awkwardly retreat by watering it down to "citizenship day". July 1 (which should be called Confederation Day) is the proper occasion to specially observe citizenship. If a stranger came to Montreal on the eve of July 1, he would know by the festive air and appearance of the city that an important holiday was being celebrated; but if he could be in an average small Ontario town on the same date, he would not be aware of any national

holiday. On July 1, 1958 all Montreal was decorated with flags and ribbons flying on public and private buildings alike and as one passed through the Quebec countryside, one could see that the smaller places were also decorated, but in Ontario very little was to be seen. In the town of Dunnville on the same date, I saw only one flag flying and it was over the post office building.

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Another contrast in national consciousness between some places in Ontario and centres of similar size in Quebec is found in the different flags flown over public buildings and on patriotic occasions. In Ontario, it is the British Union Jack, in Quebec it is the provincial blue fleur-de-lis flag. More often in English Canada, the red merchant marine ensign is displayed. According to heraldry and British tradition, this is poor etiquette. No Englishman would slight the merchant service by flying its flag on land when unauthorized to do so. It is just as improper to fly the Union Jack on ships. When the Canadian government authorized the use of the red ensign on land, it showed an appalling ignorance of British tradition and lack of good taste. A land ensign of a different coloured field and a simpler emblem on the field would be correct. This objection to the red ensign has nothing to do with the Union Jack in the fly. The difference of opinion about the choice of an official Canadian flag proves that we have not yet developed a real sense of Canadianism. A flag is an emblem of a distinctive national tradition; not a substitute for it. Prime Minister St. Laurent expressed this view very sensibly when speaking on the flag question. As it is, the lack of agreement on a flag choice has made it a political football and only serves to divide the country further. The proper way to settle it, regardless of the design chosen, is to give public and high school students the right to submit their designs to a national committee outside of parliament. The design so chosen would be emblematic of our future Canada, free of our older generation's prejudices. The only wide agreement at present is that people don't want the Union Jack. But what design do they agree on? The Union Jack is a combination of the flags of England, Scotland and ancient Ireland. It does not represent the Crown or any other particular form of government, which is proved by the fact that it does not fly over the royal palace or the overseas vice-regal residences. The royal flag is the royal standard. The official coat of arms combines the royal and national flags, surmounted by the Crown. The coat of arms includes the fleur de lis and the unicorn which remind us that the kings of England were, after the Norman conquest, also kings of France. The coat of arms which is the emblem of each Commonwealth government therefore combines the emblems of monarch and people. According to the requirements of

heraldry, any new Canadian flag would have to replace the Union Jack on Canada's coat of arms. The designs of the flags of the older European countries were suggested by their Christian ideology. It follows that we must likewise develop a distinctive all-Canadian ideology which will suggest the suitable design for our flag. Until then, the wisest course is to wait for such an ideology to develop before we can symbolize it on a piece of cloth. Premature efforts to adopt a flag which may not prove acceptable to all will cause more division than harmony and would therefore defeat their own purpose.

46)- The lack of agreement on the choice of a distinctly Canadian national anthem also reveals national division and confusion. Regardless of what anthem is sung, it is foolish to sing it at social occasions, sports events and some church services. It should be limited to formal patriotic occasions, political meetings, military events, government functions, etc. What must the American hockey teams think of us when they hear God Save The Queen in Toronto and O Canada in Montreal? I think Mr. St. Laurent had the right idea when he suggested that God Save the Queen be called the "Royal" anthem, to be sung on certain occasions, and that O Canada be considered the national, i.e. Canadian anthem, to be sung on other occasions. In England, Elgar's stirring and beautiful "Land of Hope and Glory" is often sung at the conclusion of some patriotic occasions as O Canada is sung here. The use of the one at opening and the other for closing is a compromise arrangement found in many parts of English-speaking Canada. To add to the anthem confusion, there are two English-language versions of O Canada. The original translation is not sung, for what reason we can only guess. I must confess that I can not sing the words "strong and free" in the later version without some mental reservation in view of foreign ownership of our natural resources and our membership in the International Monetary Fund.

47)- Speaking of flags and anthems, I wonder what flag the new Republique Quebecoise will use? They would not be able to sing O Canada any more, at least without a copyright from Ottawa. In view of the conflicting ideologies represented by the present separatist leaders, I can't imagine agreement on a new flag either. The present fleur-de-lis design will be too "bourgeois" for the leftists, while the rightists will want a religious emblem. They would likely end up with a few thousand choices as we already have. I have not seen any discussion of flag or anthem in any separatist publication which I have read.

48)- We now turn to the relations and cultural heterogeneity within the English-speaking part of Canada. As we have seen, at the time of confeder-

ation, the French community, then limited mainly to what was then generally called Lower Canada, possessed a more cohesive sense of Canadianism than the other British colonies of North America. This Canadian cohesiveness was characterized by a more homogeneous or integrated religious, social, political, racial and economic system; whereas there was a great disparity in these respects among the other provinces. Indeed, there was more friction than harmony among them. New Brunswick, for example, did not want to saddle its prosperity with Upper Canada's large public debt. New Brunswick was from the first a model of what the colonial office wanted all the remaining North American colonies to be. It was originally settled by United Empire Loyalists who had been of aristocratic and military background. Although life in the bush had toned down some of their aristocratic style, it did not diminish their Tory, pro-British political sympathies or their staunch High Anglican faith. Unlike Canada, they achieved responsible self-government and some degree of municipal autonomy without having to stage a rebellion to do it. One can only wish that the rest of Canada could have followed as stable a history as New Brunswick, before and after confederation. In contrast, the settlement of Upper Canada represented nearly all the different cultures of northern Europe. Although Sir John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor of Upper Canada, had in mind an exact replica of England with a military aristocracy and an established Anglican Church and even named all the counties and towns after places in England, the arrival of Scotch Presbyterians to Glengarry and Oxford Counties put an end to dreams of a North American England. As Canadian missions of the state Church of Scotland, the Presbyterians in the four colonies soon challenged the officially favoured status of the Church of England. The Presbyterians were followed by Pennsylvania Dutch Mennonites, English-descended Methodists from the States, and Methodists from northern Ireland, Catholics from southern Ireland and northern Scotland, American Quakers, German Lutherans and Baptists, to name the principal religious and racial groups of the first quarter of the 19th century. With the exception of Quakers and Catholics, the other religious and racial elements were found among the U.E. Loyalists as well as later immigrants. Religion and race were more closely identified with each other than now, due to the geographical and political distribution of Church membership in Europe. These various groups also contributed a corresponding social, occupational, political and cultural (in the narrower sense) variety to the corporate life of English-speaking Canada. Later in the 19th century, newer types of churches appeared in English Canada having radically different doctrines and practices than the earlier forms of Protestantism. They are generally

called "cults" or sects to distinguish them from the churches of western Europe and their branches in America. The best known of the newer religions which appeared in Canada from England in the last quarter of the century was the Salvation Army. It started as a social service mission of the English Methodists in the slums of London. While its doctrine is a composite of conservative evangelical Protestantism, it is distinguished from all other churches by its vast and active social work. It is not really a denomination but Christianity in action. No one can estimate how many lives it has changed or how much it has eased the burden of daily life for the poor and under-privileged. It is one form of Protestantism which the Catholic clergy have not criticized, doctrinally or otherwise. Unitarianism is new to the Canadian religious scene and its liberalizing influence is just now being felt, whereas in the States it has long been a progressive and liberalizing element in the New England culture. Doctrinally, the sects are either extreme kinds of fundamentalists who take the Bible literally or they derive their main beliefs from non-Christian sources and sometimes add Christian ideas or terminology.

The Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses represent the fundamentalist type and the Theosophists and Christian Scientists represent the other. The Mormons are in between. Some fundamentalists, such as the British Israelites, are not a denominational group, but represent a point of view. Most fundamentalists emphasize prophecy, but differ in the details of how it is fulfilled. While the numerical strength of these "far out" sects is insignificant in Canada, as compared with the States, they are very zealous and actively proselytize. The Mormons, Christian Scientists, Bahais, Unitarians and Theosophists include a large number of prominent and influential people in public life. British Israel strongly influences the Protestant wing of Social Credit. It could be described as a Christian form of the communist idea of historical determinism. The more intellectual and esoteric forms of the cults are more often found in the Anglo-Saxon element of the larger cities, especially on the west coast. Vancouver is the only place in Canada with a branch "heaven" of Father Divine's Peace Mission. The west coast is fertile ground for secular radicalism also. Added to this was the racial distribution of churches according to certain areas as a study of the preponderance of certain groups in the counties of eastern Ontario and along Lake Huron and in Nova Scotia will show. The settlement of the Canadian west showed a similar trend of settlement in "blocks". First there were the French half-breeds, then the Scotch around what is now Winnipeg, followed by Ukrainians, Germans, Icelanders and Scandinavians,

Americans, Russians, Polish and others from Europe as well as Canadians from eastern Canada and a few British. The west coast became another England, especially the capital city of Victoria. British Columbia has followed a different pattern than the rest of Canada. The settlement of Canada to the west coast has not represented as homogeneous a pattern as the United States if we except the solidly Scandinavian state of Minnesota and the solidly Mormon state of Utah. After the first world war, new groups of immigrants came in, all showing the corresponding preference for certain areas and occupations. The Finns went to Northern Ontario which is most like Finland; the Jews and Syrians concentrated in cities and followed business and finance; the Yugoslavs and Romanians worked in mines and foundries; the Greeks specialized in small urban businesses and restaurants; the Chinese stuck to restaurants and laundries; the Hungarians, Polish, Japanese, Italians, English and some others did not specialize so much. The rate and degree of assimilation of these groups into the language, culture and neighbourhood traditions of older Canadian settlements has been very uneven. The Icelanders have assimilated the most rapidly and completely, whereas the Russian Doukhobors have not assimilated at all. The others fall somewhere between. The story of all these settlements is a fascinating one but is too long for this brief. We can only attempt to fit them into an overall picture. Since the second war, another wave of immigration has greatly increased our population. The Italians are mostly urban labourers; the Dutch are mostly dairy farmers and certain types of craftsmen; the Germans and English follow general occupations; the Hungarians and Polish are formerly professional and landed gentry; the Greeks work in various urban occupations; the Jews are professionals or business men. It is too early to see how the latest post-war immigrants will assimilate. Up till 1951 they were political refugees from camps, hence the nickname "D.P.s". They were not as self reliant or stable as the later arrivals due to the terrible ordeals they had undergone before and during the second war. It is to be hoped that they will drop their European feuds and concentrate on being Canadians. In the last century the Irish, with their 12th of July and 17th of March donnybrooks have given the rest of us Canadians all the European feuds we want. Unlike the Canadiens, the later English-speaking Canadians, especially those from the old country, thought of Canadian questions from European viewpoints. The Orangemen thought of education in terms of William of Orange and the Battle of the Boyne rather than what Ontario needed. While their stand on public education has been vindicated, they supported the right idea for the wrong reasons. For the Ukrainians, Canada's foreign policy is thought of in terms of Khmel'nitsky and the siege

of Kiev. While not minimizing the significance of these events in Irish and Ukrainian history, it is hard to see what they have to do with us. To take a present-day issue concerning Ireland, the partition between North and South is of no more concern to me than the partition of India. The only foreign issue of possible significance to real Canadians is where this country might be involved through the U.N.O. Most of the immigrants have located in Ontario and Quebec, which means an even greater concentration of population in the centre of the country. The present generation of older kind of Canadians is accepting immigrants more favourably than previously. Then they were all lumped together as "foreigners", and each nationality was distinguished by some uncomplimentary nickname. Now they are all more politely called "New Canadians". What role will these newcomers and their descendants play in creating a distinctive Canadian national tradition? It must be confessed that they can expect very little help from us Canadians of British stock because we have lagged behind our Quebec compatriots in developing a true Canadianism. As a matter of fact, when the first Ukrainians settled in the west, the definition of citizenship was loyalty to Britain which was equivalent to loyalty to the Crown. The immigrants naturally got the impression that Canada was more or less a part of England. This fact did not arouse much political enthusiasm among them. However, they all enjoyed more religious freedom than they had known in the old country. This equality and freedom which distinguished the new world from the old derived from the non-sectarian public school system which was established west of Ontario. The patriotic songs their children learned to sing were songs of England and the Empire; their flag was the Union Jack. Up till 1914 what was supposed to be patriotism consisted of a golden glow of Imperial greatness which was reflected over all Canada. Whatever greatness Canada possessed was due only to her membership in the Empire on which the sun never sets. The Orange element was very predominant in the governing circles of the new prairie provinces and the foreign Catholics were plainly given to understand where their place was. The existence of Quebec was kept in the background, although the Polish and Ukrainian children must have wondered how a British country could have a French Catholic prime minister. The first war caused some confusion and divided loyalties. The Imperial glow was beginning to fade. Since the 1920s the prairies along with other parts of English-speaking Canada has been a big vacuum as far as national consciousness is concerned. Although the glamorous British imperial form of patriotism has vanished, nothing definite has taken its place; at least nothing distinctively Canadian. If there is any kind of Canadianism, it is a watered down kind of British imperialism which is

neither flesh nor fowl. Since the depression, national loyalty has been conceived of in terms of economic ideology, socialism, Social Credit, etc. The choice of symbols for many people is not between a maple leaf or the Union Jack, it is between a dollar sign or the hammer and sickle. When we speak of the "subsequent contributions made by the other cultures", can we pick and choose those features of the traditions of continental Europe which are most suitable for Canada? Just what is suitable for Canada? It is true that in the last century, European immigrants have added much to the North American way of life. The Italians have given us their music and spaghetti; the Polish have given us their dirndls (girls' wide skirts) and the polka dance; the Russians have given us their ballet and colourful Easter customs; the Finns have given us their "saunas" (steam baths); the Germans have given us their lovely Christmas customs and famous beer recipes as well as words in our every day speech (sauerkraut, weltschmerz, wieners, etc.) Once could go on with a long list of other things common to everyday life which were originally introduced by immigrants. In fact, we are nearly all descendants of immigrants no matter how far back we trace our ancestry. At the same time, we must remember that these were only parts of an integrated social and cultural whole. It would be a mistake to think we can take parts from the transplanted cultures of various European people and deliberately add them as ingredients to some sort of "national" hash. This truth is well expressed by a verse of Ralph Waldo Emerson:

All are needed by each one;
Nothing is good or fair alone.
I thought the sparrow's note from heaven,
Singing at dawn on the alder bough;
I brought him home in his nest at even;
He sings the song, but it pleases not now,
For I did not bring home the river and the sky:-
He sang to my ear, - they sang to my eye.

It is natural and proper for the descendants of immigrants to preserve the traditions, customs, etc. of the countries of their forefathers throughout succeeding generations. Being of Irish descent, I wear green on St. Patrick's Day and would march in a parade if I had an opportunity. I don't wear blue and yellow on a festival day commemorating some person or event in the Ukraine, and the Ukrainians here don't expect me to. Yet around the 17th of March there is a big drive to make everybody Irish. It is rather incongruous to see a Polish-American band and a group of Negro boy scouts marching in a St. Patrick's Day parade. The artificiality of it suggests some chamber of commerce stunt to promote sales of ties and

ribbons, as well as stimulating business generally. It is not too hard to imagine that if there were as many Ukrainians as there are Irish, there would be as big publicity about Taras Shevchenko and we would be all honorary Ukrainians on his birthday. When a culture is transplanted something is lost in the process. Those of us who honour St. Patrick know that we can never recreate here in Canada the Christian civilization which he inspired. Therefore our racial celebrations are psychological, not ideological, in their significance. The best way to celebrate St. Patrick's Day is to learn Gaelic and put on concerts of Irish music performed by Irish-Canadians. (It is only in this connection that I acknowledge hyphenated Canadians) In the Eiran Saorstat itself the 17th is observed quietly as a religious holiday and without the political angle that we see in America. Perhaps it was the presence of Orangemen which gave the 17th its political militancy in Upper Canada. The absorption of European customs is an unconscious process which operates according to sociology, not ideology. Just as we can't have a rose without its thorns, we can't expect to duplicate in Canada the attractive aspects of any European culture without having to import also its less attractive ones. Here in this new world setting they eventually lose their original significance. The culture of a people derives from its history, which has its dark and bright sides, and is peculiar to that people. If old world controversies and feuds survive in Canada, it is because they are deliberately kept stirred by people with an axe to grind. At this point I most emphatically oppose any attempt to curb the free speech or postal privileges of any "hate" group. The correct way to combat them is for the Jews, communists, pinkos, etc. who are the targets of hate literature, to take civil legal action for libel against those who publish and distribute it. As for the government curbing the distribution of hate literature, the anti-German propaganda officially issued by the Canadian government during the first war could only be described as hate literature. The same bias coloured the treatment of the war in the school history books, especially regarding responsibility for causing the war. During the McCarthy era of the 50's some government circles indulged in anti-communist stunts which led to embarrassment and hardship for sincere and loyal people, especially in Quebec. Such discrimination against helpless individuals did not weaken the international communist conspiracy. What is most popular now may prove to be a disadvantage later. Until we are sure of how much or what form of the subsequent contribution we are to accept, we will have to accept all of it. To do so would mean that we would have to throw overboard our cherished British traditions of government which are based upon tolerance and the sovereignty of law. We can not afford to pay

such a price for some dubious aspects of European "culture", if it means flooding our country with communist and fascist propaganda. There are some of Hitler's generals hiding in this country now besides a lot of Nazi collaborators. We have been duped by their "anti-communist" act. They are a transmission belt for race hatred. The communists are secret agents for class hatred. Unfortunately, much of what is called their "culture" is inspired by these alien ideologies. While they don't openly smash statues of departed English generals and monarchs like the separatist hooligans do, the secret fascist and communist agents who are lurking among the central European immigrants express their hatred of British Christian institutions in more dangerous, subtle ways. We can do without their "culture". These remarks do not apply to the immigrants from northern Europe who have developed institutions similar to ours. Even some church periodicals are not free from political and nationalist bias. However, the younger generation of New Canadians is advancing remarkably in scholastic ability as examination reports of high schools and universities show a remarkable proportion of high marks of students with Slavic and other European names. Speaking of names, a barometer of assimilation is found in the choice of given (i.e. Christian) names. The present generation of European descent are giving their children British names like Lloyd, Brian, Clyde, Kenneth, etc. It is interesting to note that in Canada you will find children with names like Stanley Jakubowski and in Argentina you will find such a name as Hernando Jakubowski. If we could only give these brilliant future Canadian leaders a national vision and goal, we would have no problem of trying to create a distinctive Canadianism. The challenge and the goal itself would unite us. We should not conclude our survey of the heterogeneous elements in our Canadian mosaic without a brief mention of the aborigines, the Indians and the Eskimos. Their "culture", if it can be called that, was of a very primitive kind. Being children of nature, they had developed a migrant type of social organization, which was the opposite of the European. The present herding of the Indians into "reservations" and payment of treaty money perpetuates a form of compensation for the occupation of their lands a century or more ago. The Eskimos are not yet put on reservations but they are changing their primitive form of life. The Iroquois came to Canada as allies of King George III during the American Revolution. They have never since regarded themselves as British subjects or Canadian citizens. They did not accept too willingly the imposition of the Indian Act of 1923 which made all Indians in Canada wards of the federal government. The Indian Act also tried to modernize the tribal organization within the reservations. The legal status of Indians and Eskimos cannot be properly settled until

we decide whether they should continue to be wards of the federal government or whether they should try to fit into the white modern industrial system. The employment of younger Indians in modern industry proves that they can do so. We may conclude from this that in a generation or so we may be able to abolish the reservation idea altogether and thereby cease to be a distinctive ethnic group. In place of treaty money, they might be granted exemption from income tax or local taxes. The question is do the Indians wish to preserve their ethnic identity? They cannot do so if they adopt the modern urban mode of life. It is easier for Ukrainians, Italians, etc. who come from an urbanized society in Europe to adjust themselves to a similar degree of urbanization here without losing their ethnic identity. The Indians would lose their language if they moved off the reservations. Their way of life and distinct racial characteristics have been destroyed by the adoption of white style clothes and use of liquor. Culturally, they are neither flesh nor fowl. We need an international U.N.O. agency to deal with aborigines and develop an international legal code for them.

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It is most unfortunate, for the sake of national unity, that a greater number of immigrants are not originally French-speaking or do not learn French after they arrive here. It is difficult to induce European French to emigrate to Canada, even to Quebec. In the first place, the climate is not so favourable. Then there is the difference between the social security and educational standards between Quebec and France. Furthermore, the European Francois, whatever his denomination, strongly believes in a society of secular orientation as contrasted with the Quebec society with its decidedly ecclesiastical orientation. As for the other immigrants, they will learn French if it is necessary for employment in industry. Mr. Lesage is on the right track when he wants to compel new industries locating in Quebec to use French in their everyday work. Such an economic inducement would encourage more European immigrants to learn French instead of English and would help to balance the racial composition of the English and French language communities. Disregarding the economic factor, the fact must be admitted that the average French still regards any non French in Quebec as intruders even if they are Catholics also. The French show a strong racial clannishness which the immigrant soon senses. One only needs to compare the greater number of marriages between Polish Catholics in Quebec and English-speaking Protestants than French Catholics. In view of this exclusiveness, the Canadiens have no one else to blame but themselves if they are not participating in the national expansion due to immigration. It is not due to a plot of the Anglais to outnumber them. If the Republique Quebecois hopes to occupy a strong economic and political

position on this continent, it will have to offer the same inducements to get its immigrants to learn French.

50)- Having considered the credit and debit sides of national unity, we will undertake to draw up a balance sheet. We hope to be able to distill from the facts and observations already presented in this brief, not an amalgam, which is impossible due to our dualism and heterogeneity, but at least a sort of *modus vivendi*. On the world scene we must decide whether we are a nation in our own right or merely a geographical entity blown about like thistle-down by the winds of the cold war. We are fortunate that as heirs of the British tradition, we have been able to resolve our internal differences by orderly, constitutional methods without resorting to large scale revolution and civil war as the United States did. Human nature being what it is, our political and national development has not been entirely without violence and friction. However, it never reached the stage of nation-wide revolution and civil war in order to achieve responsible self-government and national independence. The language issue has not yet caused riots like those in Belgium between Walloons and Flemish. In other words, the partners have not yet crossed the point of no return. The time has come to renew confederation by signing a new contract. Although the confederation of the British provinces in 1867 has been compared to a marriage of convenience, it has endured better than some marriages undertaken in a romantic glow of first love. It was the threat of American military conquest which jolted the Canadas and the Maritimes into a partnership for mutual self-protection. The present economic control of our national resources by American capital may jolt us into a more militant defence of our Canadian economic as well as political hegemony. The penetration of American capital into the development of Canadian resources is not due to aggression on their part, but by failure of Canadian capital to invest in our own country. There has been no lack of Canadian capital because as much of it has been invested abroad as in Canada. The reason for this failure is plain to see. Canadian financiers are afraid to take risks unless they are sure of earning a dividend the first year. Although oil had been found in Alberta since the 1920's, the deep deposits required extra drilling to explore the fields and the low grade crude requires more refining than Middle East or South American crude. After 1947 American capital undertook to explore the Alberta fields. After some costly failures, the Alberta oil industry is launched as a profitable industry. The development of the iron deposits in Northern Quebec is a similar story. The location of the iron deposits made access difficult and expensive. Combined with this disadvantage is the harsh climate and uninviting residential surroundings.

Nevertheless, American and European capital is going ahead with it. The proverbial Canadian caution and lack of commercial confidence in our future may cost us our national independence as surely as if foreign troops were to invade our soil. Another form of American penetration, if not domination, is the close connection between American and Canadian trades unions. The lack of Canadian initiative was evident in unionism also. It was because of this that the first union to be organized in Canada was an A.F.L. affiliate shortly before the end of the last century. The pattern of Canadian union organization in respect to the American follows a similar pattern to Canadian and American business and investment. While there are two all-Canadian labour bodies, they are much smaller than the one with American affiliation and the four or five independent unions also with headquarters across the line. In regard to foreign union affiliation, the question arises, why is there not closer affiliation with other unions in the British Commonwealth and in the western hemisphere? Such affiliation would offset the exclusive domination by U.S. unions and the racketeering element associated with them. It will not be achieved in Quebec by a Republique Quebecoise. We all can together achieve some greater degree of economic autonomy if we are prepared to accept some sacrifices. None of the older political parties is frank enough to ask us to do so. A prosperity dependent upon an extractive economy can not continue. What Canada needs is a new movement based upon the ideology of the future adapted to the Canadian environment.

51)- In the matter of extending bilingualism outside Quebec, it will require a more favourable attitude on the part of the English-language Canadians. Although many people outside Quebec would resent a policy of educational bilingualism if they thought it was some sort of publicity for a Quebec pressure group, if all political parties agreed to adopt it simultaneously, the idea would be more easily accepted, especially by the younger generation. Such a bi-partisan political policy on this basic national question would prevent it from becoming a political football, as the flag question has become. As a member of a political minority, which from the first advocated nation-wide bilingualism in schools by means of federal education, I feel considerable gratification in seeing this policy being accepted by the major parties. Some progress has been made by way of French language lessons on the C.B.C. although there is not an equal amount of English lessons on Radio Canada. There has been some exchange of programs between the two networks. The establishment of bilingual radio and television stations like CJBC in Toronto and CKVL in Verdun is an important step. The transition to complete bilingualism will take at least two generations. In the meantime, parallel systems of communications,

schools, and other educational communications and cultural media will have to be maintained. As a closer step toward national unity, there will have to be less discrimination on Radio-Canada and other French-language networks and stations against French-language Protestant and other non-Catholic broadcasting. While we can never by deliberate planning alone achieve the same degree of religious and racial heterogeneity within the French-language community, we can at least reduce its exclusiveness. One would like to see less of the same exclusiveness in the French-language press, whether daily or weekly; metropolitan or local. For example, The Montreal Star gives news of some French activities and Catholic Church notices, activities, etc. It also carries ads of firms and obituary notices of people in the French districts. On the other hand, I don't recall having seen a Protestant Church service being advertised in the Saturday issue of the Montreal La Presse. To read it, one would not believe there was any other kind of people in Montreal except French Catholics and Liberals. It is interesting and sometimes amusing to compare the headlines of the Star and La Presse on the same day. The Star might have a picture and headline about the President of the U.S.A. while La Presse will feature the Pope. The large degree of Church news and information in the Quebec press reminds one of the emphasis on Church news (generally Protestant) of the small town and city weekly rural press of Ontario some decades ago. The Quebec daily press does not show as much political bias as formerly. The journals of opinion are weekly or monthly and the newer ones like PartiPris are very definitely separatist. It is difficult to determine whether the blackout of news about the local English community in Quebec papers reflects lack of interest by their readers or whether it is a deliberate editorial policy. However, bilingual news weeklies are beginning to appear with news of both language communities. They are still local in scope, covering the downtown business district or suburban areas. They may expand into important dailies. While the existence of a two-language system is considered a nuisance by most people outside Quebec, even by the French around Windsor and Georgian Bay, the psychological value of knowing more than one language is overlooked by many people. This is well put by the motto of Berlitz School of Languages. The bilingual people I have met show a greater mental quickness, even without much formal education. While speaking of languages, I believe that one should also learn one's ancestral tongue, if it is not the official or commonly spoken one. Some time in the future English or Esperanto will likely be the world language.

52)-

The present state of biculturalism may be summed up as a separate but equal. In the first place, there is the officially recognized dualism between the two language communities. Then within the English-language community we also have almost as great a variety of ethnic stocks, religions and categories of secular thought and culture as in the United States or any other western hemisphere country. While English-speaking Canada as a whole has not yet developed a distinctly national culture, still there is not a real internationalism based on genuine cultural or ideological rapport with currents of thought in London, Paris or New York. One can best get an idea of this by noting the closer personal ties between the upper class social circles of the international capitals who form what is called the "international set". For an American, the qualifications for entrance into "big time" society are inherited money, Hollywood notoriety, or cultural achievement. For Europeans to enter, they need an old title plus money and all the rest. Although citizens of a republic, most upper class Americans are impressed by a title, even of an ex-king. While the Taylors and Molsons rate high in Canadian social circles, they don't belong so closely in New York or London circles. This is true in artistic, intellectual and scientific circles as well as in moneyed ones. While George Orwell was originally known and appreciated in Canada by syndicalists only, he had already won recognition and fame elsewhere. The Huxleys are better known in the States than in Canada. Sir Winston Churchill has a wider circle of relatives and friends there than he has here. When Canada abolished titles for Canadians, we really cut ourselves out of international circles in our effort to appear "democratic". In following the latest trends of thought and taste, Montreal lags behind Paris for about 10 years and Toronto lags behind New York by three years and London by five to 10 years. The only way Canada forms a link between Britain and the U.S.A. is our common monarchy, i.e. our same type of political system; otherwise Canada is no closer to New York and London culturally than is some obscure midwestern state. Some people say that Canada's international role is to interpret or act as a liaison between American and Britain, or America and somebody else. If we can't interpret or explain ourselves nationally, how can we interpret other nations? Such talk of Canada's "role of interpreter" makes fine material for after-dinner speeches, especially for Canadian diplomats abroad. It is a non-controversial topic because it doesn't make much sense. Despite differences in language and nationality, Paris is closer to London than it is to Montreal in cultural rapport and London is closer to Paris than to Toronto. Among the younger set the latest fads in music, dance and styles seem to spread more rapidly throughout the world than English sculpture or Paris drama. The "Beatle"

craze is already universal. It remains to be seen whether the popularity of the Beatles in Montreal and elsewhere in Quebec wherever there is a juke box will weaken the hostility of the separatist teenagers against other things English. Genuine internationalism in Canada seems to flourish best in the field of sports, particularly hockey and baseball. To what extent such common participation in the same sports league serves to draw Montrealers and Torontonians closer together is hard to say. The value of sports as a cultural link is rather dubious in view of the rioting that sometimes takes place, even between fans of local teams a few miles apart. In the arts, meaning literature, painting, music, drama, dance, etc., and in the sciences, which includes most other fields of endeavour, very few native-born Canadians have won international fame. Canadians are better at adapting other people's ideas than originating their own. We have reached a point in our national history when we are forced to develop our own ideas or disappear as a nation. Although Canadians have lagged behind in boldness and originality of thought and method and excel only in cultural mediocrity, dare we hope that inasmuch as necessity is the mother of invention, that we will rise to the challenge? We have not yet committed ourselves very far to any particular national system or ideology, therefore we are one country where the society of the future can be established without upsetting firmly established traditions of government, industry and foreign policy. It is still too early to see whether we will ever develop a single Canadian nationality. For centuries after the Norman conquest of Saxon England there were two distinct racial and language groups - the ruling French aristocrats with their continental ties and the conquered Saxon lower classes. After the defeat of the English kings in the hundred years war in France, the two peoples, Saxon and Norman, fused into Englishmen. It was isolation from the continent which caused the Tudors to develop a strong distinctive English nationality. This same isolation from the continent spared England from the fratricidal wars of religion and enabled her to develop her own reformation in a more orderly fashion. In Canada, the same isolation produced the greater sense of Canadianism among the French. Will we English-speaking Canadians need to be isolated somehow or other to become real Canadians? In this "one world" of today it is not likely, so we will have to look to some other method. It is a fact of history that conflict between two opposing civilizations ends when a third one opposing the other two appears. Then it opposes the merger of the other two. This is a variation of Hegel's historical dialectic.

53)- The religious and educational aspects of our biculturalism are more of a divisive than of a unifying character. We may consider these together because they have been linked together before and since confederation.

The only formula by which we can fit these factors harmoniously into our future Canadian society is through co-operation between church and state. This also implies allowance for different methods according to local circumstances. The present Vatican Council could help inter-faith co-operation and clerical fraternization by amending some canon law and modifying Pope Pius IX's Syllabus of Errors. Most people would be satisfied with this much without any further steps toward corporate union. It would help national and world unity if the good will at top ecclesiastical levels could penetrate down into parish and neighbourhood levels. The Protestants could do their part by eliminating duplication of denominational set-up where no doctrinal difference warrants it. They could also pool the use of buildings, literature, etc. for economy and closer association and fraternity. The Oriental and immigrant churches could merge their separate "national" jurisdictions and adopt a greater use of a Canadian language. In spite of good will between church leaders, there is a lot of inherited prejudice to overcome. It can't be eliminated by resolutions in church assemblies or pastoral letters. It will take much time and persistent exercise of good will.

54)- While the present condition of bilingualism and biculturalism is far from satisfactory, we can not retrace our footsteps or turn back history. We are as a nation, committed to develop these distinctive aspects of our nation to their logical conclusion. It is from this standpoint that this brief will proceed to set forth certain recommendations derived from the biocratic ideology of the future.

55)- Biocracy is a term created by Lewis Mumford to describe an organic concept of society. Whereas the right wing's political concept and the left wing's economic concept represent a mechanistic form of social function, biocracy's sociological concept represents a biological form of social function. The mechanistic approach reflects the 18th century's system of physics and thinks of the various classes in society as exerting force on one another. Such exertion of force, political or economic, upon people suggests a horse pulling an inanimate object. It is important to remember that both capitalism and socialism originated at the time when scientists had decided that matter was made up of molecules and the molecules in turn made up of the smallest particles possible, called atoms (a-tom - not cut). It was supposed that the atoms were of the same materials or substance as the molecules and the visible substance itself, and if you had a thin enough knife to separate the atoms, each would, under a strong enough magnifying glass, look like the original object. This understanding of the

structure of matter and the universe corresponded in the material sense to Comte's philosophy of positivism. The five senses could be the only guide to examining the properties of matter. The earlier experiments in electricity assumed the operation of external forces between objects. Newton's laws of motion were no more than formulae for measurement of forces acting externally. Newton had no idea of internally contained forces. Later experiments with X-rays and radium revealed that there is energy resident in the atoms. The development of the vacuum tube also indicated that resident energy is due to atomic sub-particles having electric charges. The mathematical theory of Heisenberg, Planck and Einstein, to name only a few modern physicists, has thrown new light on the relationship between matter and energy. In our concepts of human behaviour, a revolution similar to the one in our understanding of the outward or material world has taken place. Beginning with Freud, exploration of the world within us has resulted in changing our system of law and our criteria of human relationships. Psychiatry has revealed economic and political axioms and theories to be no more than slogans appealing to various psychological drives of sex, fear, inferiority complex, etc. The power of Stalin, the Al Capone of communism, is interpreted by psychiatry as a corporate expression of what Freud called the "father image". In the study of society, psychiatry has been combined with sociology to produce the organic concept. Physiology has also made corresponding advances. Cells composed of a certain chemical type of molecule, provide interchangeable building blocks of the entire body. In other words, certain cells represent the whole body in miniature; their function being determined by chemical, i.e. glandular, means of adaptation. Applying the relationship between cell and body to society itself, we come to the conclusion that each person is society in miniature. Therefore the state is a function of society, not society itself, as the totalitarians maintain. Continuing the analogy from physiology, the state is composed of persons who are conditioned by various other elements in society to constitute what may be compared to a particular organ (in a localized sense) or a particular function such as the nerves (in a general sense). Continuing this line of reasoning, but transferring it to the field of cybernetics, Dr. Norbert Wiener explained that the state can only function efficiently if it is guided by information from the citizenry. In the science of cybernetics this is called "backfeed". If we combine together the developments in physics, psychiatry, physiology, cybernetics and sociology, we get a new kind of civilization as different from the 19th century one as the latter was from that of the 10th century. Our interpretation of history is likewise changed. Instead of presenting it as a linear succession of events, it must

now be presented in depth in order to take in the developments in various areas of individual and corporate life. Then these developments must be grouped into certain categories. In old history books these categories corresponded to centuries or political areas, such as the Roman Empire, the Gothic kingdoms, the Holy Roman Empire, the age of exploration and the Renaissance, etc. Such a narrow category has been the main defect of the study and teaching of history. It has been used as a nationalist propaganda instrument. We can easily understand why H. G. Wells called history "poison" when it becomes mere jingoism. The most significant and comprehensive study of social history in modern times is Lewis Mumford's "Technics and Civilization". It surveys the impact of contemporary technology upon society since earliest times. Contemporary technology may be defined as the particular applications of succeeding sources of energy and how they change the pattern of contemporary society and to some extent how they determine events. However, Mumford stops far short of historical determinism. The book is not a prediction of the future nor an exercise in wishful thinking like some of Marx's and Engels' writings. Their modern equivalent is Technocracy. In the biocratic society, the organization of the state would be determined by the type of society and its social requirements and not in terms of a particular political or economic principle. If there is any system of philosophy which corresponds to biocracy, it is that of Lao Tsu. Another characteristic of biocracy is the lack of rigid uniformity. As in nature where new cells replace the old ones gradually without causing abrupt changes in the outward form or pattern, so does a biocratic form of government fit new social developments into a broad and flexible framework. Many of these developments will derive from new modes of technology.

56)-

The British system of an appointive, non partisan or politically permanent overall system into which is fitted an elective, partisan short term representative neutral system provides the most flexible framework for future developments. The former institution of government is called the monarchy, the latter is called parliament. Equal to both is the judiciary system, with the Supreme Court at Ottawa and going on down. Parliament makes and carries out laws, the courts interpret them. These three-fold functions are the tripod upon which the whole machinery of government rests. While our constitution is a written one, it is modelled upon the unwritten one of Britain. That is to say that all the machinery of government in England was not created at one time by one document like the American constitution, but is the result of many centuries of experience, struggle and trial and error. It is the sum of many statutes as well as the traditions and customs not put down in black and white. The British Monarchy

and Parliament have as long a history as any in Europe, with only one break during the Cromwellian republic from 1649 to 1660. However, the royal succession had not died out. Dating from the feudal period, the parliament at Westminster is justly called the "mother of parliaments". The British type of government combines two institutions, the royal government and the national government, as symbolized by the royal standard and the Union Jack. When the national government (i.e. the House of Commons and the Cabinet) bogs down in political stalemates and other crises, the royal system exists as a stand-by source of authority and temporary administration until the emergency passes. In other instances, the royal authority may be exercised to check the power of a tyrannical party or political leader over the people. This royal function would be formally recognized by using the phrase "Regina populusque" on official documents. This is the reason why one-party totalitarianisms seldom attain permanent power in a monarchy. Russia was a provisional republic when Lenin seized power.

57)- Before we can make the necessary adjustments in our Canadian government machinery to enable us to cope with the swift and radical changes of this nuclear age, we must amend or replace the British North America Act. This is generally recognized by all, including former autonomists. There is no better way to mark the centennial of Confederation than to produce a new constitution which should be a legacy to the Canada of the future. The time has come to renew the partnership between Canadiens and Canadians. Having learned much from our common political association, we are able to lay a new and better foundation for a new kind of society in this half of the continent. There is still time to fulfil Sir Wilfred Laurier's prophecy that the twentieth century will be the century of Canada. Beginning with certain moral or ethical principles, we must proceed to erect a flexible framework of government into which we may fit new modes of technology as they are developed. These basic principles may be codified into a bill of rights written into the new constitution and limiting and defining the power of the state over the individual. This was omitted from the B.N.A. Act with unfortunate results.

58)- The following paragraphs outline the kind of constitution which is proposed for this country.

59)- The local deputy for the Queen of Canada would personally discharge the vice-regal functions as the chief of state (Chef d'etat). His duties and titles would include: Commander-in-chief of all the armed forces; appointing the Canadian Privy Council (which would include the Prime Minister and some cabinet ministers); opening and closing of Parliament and

its separate sessions; appointing the members of the Upper House; appointing the Lieutenant Governors of the provinces; giving royal assent and proclamation of legislation; signing orders-in-council; issuing writs for elections and plebiscites; appointing various government officials; presiding at formal state functions; and all the other functions now discharged by the Governor-General. The Chief of State should be vested with authority to represent the Canadian people as well as the British Crown by adding the term "populusque" to legal documents. It would be preferable to designate the vice-regal authority and person by another name than "Governor-General". It is associated with colonialism. In this brief the term "Chief of State" will be tentatively substituted for "Governor-General". Immediately upon vice-regal proclamation of the new constitution, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court would assume the office of Chief of State. It would be preferable to install him in his new office by a royal ceremony performed by the Queen personally at Ottawa. It would include some portions of the coronation ceremony as performed at Westminster Abbey in which ecclesiastical dignitaries would officiate and administer the oath of office in addition to the Queen herself. The name "swearing-in" is too prosaic for future installations and should be called by a more glamorous and dignified name. The Chief of State would hold office for life (i.e. until retirement age). He would then be succeeded by the incumbent Supreme Court Chief Justice who would be succeeded by the next judge according to seniority. The incumbent Chief Justice would act as he does at present in the capacity of Administrator-General. A life term for the Chief of State would avoid the awkward problem of choosing a successor to the Governor-General after each five year term. As at present the Chief of State should be politically neutral and above and outside any controversy, his appointment should not be a source of controversy. The proposed method of succession would provide a smooth and dignified transition from one to the next.

60)- The legislative function of Parliament would be performed by the Upper House. The senators would be replaced by representatives of classes, occupations, professions, etc. Those holding life appointments would be the military chiefs of staff, permanent heads of the civil service (i.e. deputy ministers), educators, eminent scientists and other people who have made a notable contribution to the national life. Those holding terms of shorter periods of say, five to ten years, would be official representatives of various organizations and classes. For example, organized labour would have three or four members, one from an all-Canadian body, one from a foreign-affiliated one, and one or two from white-collar workers and other special groups (such as unemployed). Agriculture would have one from each of the

large farm organizations and one for specialized types of farming. In addition to occupations, industries, professions, etc. being represented, youth, consumers, older or retired people, artists and writers, economists, social workers, women, clergy, etc. would also be represented by an appropriate number of members. The entire membership of the Upper House would provide representation for the widest cross-section of national life. This would include also representation according to language, religion, ethnic origin as well as geography. It would be useless to impose legal or constitutional requirements defining the exact number of members of each or the exact mathematical percentage. This has to be worked out by mutual consent. The most elaborate fool-proof constitution is no substitute for good will and voluntary co-operation. The present Cyprus situation proves that. The new constitution would continue the same language right guarantees brought up to date. The Upper House would vote on bills submitted to it by the House of Commons except money (i.e. supply bills) and also in return, submit bills to the Commons. In addition to these bills, the Upper House would also submit bills for third reading to the general electorate.

61)- By using modern electronic communications devices, the general electorate will be able to vote directly on bills proposed by the Upper House as plebiscites. Such direct voting on national legislation by the electors would replace the present voting for members of parliament who now serve as our proxy voters. This method of direct participation in the process of legislation by each and all the citizens is the ancient Anglo-Saxon folk-moot brought up to date. Each topic to be submitted to the electorate must be introduced by the corresponding member connected with that topic. For example, a bill concerning labour could only be introduced by a representative of organized labour. On the other hand a bill concerning labour, but opposed by the labour members, would have to originate in the Commons and go through the Upper House for second reading for additional amendments and whether or not to submit it to the electorate for third and final reading. Certain bills dealing with the technical aspects of administration would after two readings in the Upper House go to the Commons for third and final reading. In this case, the Chief of State could withhold royal assent if he thought it should be submitted to the electorate. He could not, however, veto supply bills originating in either House but which can only be adopted by the Commons.

62)- The executive branch of Parliament would be the House of Commons. It would be composed of elected provincial representatives, some being

provincial cabinet ministers of certain departments: finance, education, roads, etc. This would mean that members of the Commons would sit in the provincial legislatures as well, but not all members of provincial legislatures would sit at Ottawa. The House of Commons would provide direct political and geographic representation. The Prime Minister and cabinet would be the leaders of the majority political party represented by the elected provincial representatives. However, the administration could be non-political. The cabinet would be responsible for the civil service and other federal agencies and crown corporations. Only the House of Commons can introduce and pass money bills. It could submit bills to the Upper House for national plebiscites and it could vote on certain bills submitted to it by the Upper House, subject to the qualifications mentioned above. Federal action to disallow provincial legislation should originate in the Commons.

63)- The Supreme Court would be enlarged to include sections of constitutional, civil and criminal law. The constitutional section would rule on interpretation of jurisdiction and legislation as well as considering amendments to the constitution. The frequency and degree of future changes in society will require corresponding adjustments in methods of public administration; nevertheless conforming to generally accepted and basic principles contained in the Bill of Rights. On local levels there would be labour courts to deal with industrial disputes and they would replace the National Labour Relations Board and also supervise trusteeship for unions.

64)- The number of provinces would be increased to permit fuller local autonomy and effective representation at Ottawa. Their boundaries would be drawn to conform to geographic, population distribution, access to water transport and other economic and sociological factors. In addition to the provinces with average area and population, there would also be "metropolitan" provinces comprising cities or metropolitan areas with a population of one million or more within a certain radius. The mayor would be the Lieutenant-Governor and the city manager, if there is one, would be the provincial premier. In many provinces, as of now, the rural areas and the biggest cities think they are subsidizing one another by the taxes they pay in or by the grants others get for large public works. If the Montreal separatist intellectuals like to be so isolated from the rest of the country, perhaps a "republican" province of Montreal should satisfy them. The provincial and federal governments would integrate their fiscal policy and other departments. The present system of township and county joint fiscal and tax sharing would be adopted for the federal and provincial levels. Provincial government

officials would also sit in the Commons at Ottawa and together draw up a national budget as the township reeves sitting on the county council draw up a joint mill rate for both township and county requirements. The provinces would collect all internal revenue (sales and income taxes) and the federal government would collect all customs and excise revenue. After meeting provincial budget requirements, the provincial treasuries would remit to Ottawa the balance collected to defray their share of the federal budget, estimated on a per capita basis. This would eliminate the need for federal grants to provinces. If the customs and excise revenue reached 10% of the total provincial budgets of the previous fiscal year, the excess amount over that 10% would be apportioned to the provinces on a per capita basis. This joint national fiscal policy would provide a better guarantee of provincial autonomy than division of jurisdictions provides in any present day federal-type constitution and at the same time would provide as efficient a national fiscal policy and administration as any central or union government like England or the German Third Reich. Each province could have its own constitution within the limits imposed by the national Bill of Rights. Some provinces could follow a more republican or elective system of acquiring government personnel (e.g. electing judges); others would appoint more. Some provinces would elect their Lieutenant-Governor before his formal appointment by the Chief of State at Ottawa. Some provinces would follow a one party system like Russia, while others would have a many party system like we do now. The political administrations would vary in their economic ideology as they do now. After each census the provincial boundaries would be redrawn as constituencies are now in each decennial redistribution bill. The judicial system would continue as now.

65).- Certain legislative powers, i.e. cabinet people would be limited to federal jurisdiction and others to provincial. Most would be shared between the two. This would avoid much of the present duplication where there is a federal and provincial ministry for the same thing, such as labour, agriculture, health, forestry and natural resources, etc. Considerable flexibility would be permitted to enable provinces following a similar policy in the same department to integrate their own provincial department with the federal. For example, if the federal department of labour decided to limit the political activities and connections of nationally chartered trades unions, and some provinces decided not to, the provinces agreeing with the federal policy would administer the federal policy through their provincial labour departments.

66)-

The administration of education requires some special mention, inasmuch as the education question has played an important part in national as well as provincial politics. Since education involves language and religion it has an important bearing on bilingualism and biculturalism which are the main topics of this brief. Since every Canadian is entitled to the same educational opportunities from coast to coast along with defence, and various forms of social security, it follows that there must be a minimum standard of curriculum nation-wide. The teaching of history is a particular example. The present multiplicity of textbooks and resulting contradictory and varying ways of teaching Canadian history, in particular, can only be described as a disgrace. The first step in fostering a single national consciousness and sense of Canadian tradition in future Canadians is to teach them the same history. We need that more than we need a single flag. A common Canadian history book in French and English would not necessarily be biassed against any other country. If the provinces would voluntarily adopt the same textbooks in history, civics, literature and geography, it would not be necessary to transfer education to federal jurisdiction. However, the chances of such inter-provincial co-operation in this respect are remote. It would therefore be preferable to set a universal nationwide standard in the above-mentioned subjects, for which the federal department of education at Ottawa would be solely responsible. According to circumstances, responsibility for other subjects would be apportioned by mutual consent and after some experiment. The federal department would be responsible for public school property (i.e. building, equipment, vehicles, etc.) and inspection of all schools. The provincial and municipal authorities would be responsible for administration (i.e. hiring of personnel, transportation, upkeep of buildings and property, etc.) The federal department of education would have an advisory board composed of clergy of different denominations and specialists in pedagogy to assist in the adoption of national uniform textbooks for the subjects within the jurisdiction of the federal education department. The provincial education departments would have similar advisory boards. The Supreme Court would decide on confusion or conflict between the federal and provincial authorities in education, as this would be excepted from the federal power of disallowance. This would prevent a repetition of the 1896 Manitoba School Question.

67)-

In respect to the teaching of language, the only language of instruction throughout Canada will be English or French, in both private and public schools. In each school district, the determination of which language to use would be the home language of 75% of the pupils attending. Facilities

would be provided for the remaining 25% being instructed in the other language by means of establishment of schools organized in larger "special" districts. Foreign-language pupils would choose between English and French. The choice would probably be according to distance. The second national language would begin in the second year of the elementary level schools. This could also be considered the first foreign language (especially in the view of Premier Bennett!) The other languages would begin later during the elementary period. The teaching of the second national language will be included in adult education programs and night school courses. The present television and radio programs in languages would be continued and advanced to high school graduation equivalent. This language program will be compulsory in all the provinces, not as an optional course as it is now in some provinces and large city schools. We hope to make all Canada completely bilingual within two generations. For the first five years progress will be slow. Inertia and hostility will have to be overcome. While the recent creation of a department of education in Quebec is welcomed throughout Canada, it remains to be seen whether it will reciprocate with some other provinces and teach English throughout. It is becoming evident to many people throughout Canada that the national syndicalist program of federal responsibility for education is the only way to correct the present uneven standards of education from coast to coast. Even some educators in Quebec are becoming aware of this fact. In order to speed up the bilingual program in schools, it may be necessary to bring in teachers from France and Britain, which countries have a greater proportion of teachers who speak English and French than Canada has. They would help to improve our standards of speech. Until we can find enough bilingual teachers capable of handling the new language program in elementary grades, supplementary means of instruction will have to be extensively used during the transition period. These would include films, television, radio and programmed learning devices. Although it will be some time before national syndicalism has an opportunity to put its bilingual school program into effect, every step in that direction is welcomed. Even though the other parties are only beginning to catch up with our program in this respect, we must encourage them because constitutional restrictions are holding back progress in nation-wide bilingualism. The Quebec autonomists who want nation-wide bilingualism will have to choose between provincial autonomy or bilingualism; they can't have both.

68)- Since there are such wide differences of opinion regarding the respective responsibilities of church and of the state in providing education and religious education in particular, some degree of co-operation

is necessary between the two authorities. If there was only one kind of religion in Canada, as there is in Greece, the teaching of religion in state schools would be a simple matter. There are two extreme alternatives: teach all religions or none. This is the American approach. There is another approach regarding religion as a supplementary subject. Its manner of presentation would differ according to age group. The alternative supplementary subjects would be psychology, art, drama or physical exercise. One of these would have to be taken by every student. Difference in religious belief also means difference in methods of teaching religion. The citizenship subject would include a study of ethics and philosophy which are the least common denominators of all religions. For all students in elementary and secondary schools, comparative religion would be the form of classroom religious instruction. A good textbook would be "The Faiths Men Live By" by Potter. It would be suitable for the ages ten to fourteen as there is little technical theology in it. Above the age of fourteen more technical theology could be given. In addition to religion given as a supplementary subject in comparative form, provision could also be made in some school districts for released time for denominational instruction. It is not advisable to include prayers or scriptural reading as part of the daily opening and closing exercises in public schools. Some clergy object to the particular religious book used, especially if it is not published by their particular denomination. Compulsory study of religion and religious exercises, especially of a denominational character, could only be carried on in a private school. While all private schools would have to use the national textbooks in certain subjects and be subject to the same inspection as the public schools by the federal education department, they would be permitted considerable latitude in other subjects and in discipline and in religious discipline. As in public schools, the pupils would be provided with free textbooks and transportation (if they are day students), one free meal per day, free medical attention, free military training or the alternative social service program and all other benefits and privileges given to students of public schools. In denying these public facilities to students attending separate and private schools, the public school authorities seem to be penalizing parents for not sending their children to public schools. It is the children who suffer from this discrimination. No child should be considered "second grade" because he goes to a different school. Religious freedom implies also availability of religious instruction. Without it, religious freedom is only a fine slogan. At the same time, we must avoid offending minorities by forcing some religion on them in our

public schools. Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews and atheists are examples. In British Columbia, the Doukhobors object to all secular education. It is impossible to solve that particular minority problem. The released time method of providing denominational instruction would vary according to the locality and the particular religious membership of the locality. Briefly the Catholic method of religious instruction is by actual participation by children in religious ceremonies. The Roman, Anglican, Old Catholic and Orthodox Churches prefer this method. A slogan of the Sisters of St. John the Divine sums up this approach: religion is caught, not taught. This method would operate most efficiently if the students could attend a church or chapel close to the school, as it would not be advisable to have a religious edifice on public school property. This is a different matter than renting the use of a public school building for a church service on Sunday to a religious group without a permanent building of their own. In certain areas where all the ratepayers are Catholics, the public school board could give the teaching and administrative contract to a religious order. In this case, the federal inspector would be a superior of the particular order. The display of religious symbols or emblems such as pictures, statues, rosaries, etc. in public schools would be decided by the local school board. The same would apply to Bibles, hymn books, pictures of William of Orange in some Ontario school districts. However, no political party emblems or flags of non-Commonwealth countries could be displayed. The United Nations flag would be flown. This kind of arrangement for providing religious training and atmosphere for Catholic children would make separate or parochial schools unnecessary. One result would be a more efficient use of school tax money and there would not longer be the constant haggling over the assessment and collection of separate school tax funds. At present separate school ratepayers have to pay higher school taxes for the right to ensure religious education for their children than public school ratepayers do. The national Syndicalist policy of close co-operation between church and state will end this discrimination. Parents should not be penalized for exercising their religious rights. In Ontario where there is a smaller Catholic population, the full religious education program might have to be provided in a church-owned private school if the proportion of Catholics in the school district is less than 5% of the total number of ratepayers. Supporters of private schools would pay only the excess of the school tuition fees over the public school tax; the equivalent of the latter to be refunded by the federal education department or as an income tax write-off, depending upon the co-operation of the particular province's treasurer. It should be added at this point that the registration and

inspection of private schools, boarding and day, would be the responsibility of the federal department of education. It would also operate schools in Indian reservations and all schools in the Northwest Territories and supervise private schools in these areas. While there are many other angles of the Forward Party education policy, only those relating to the terms of this brief have been discussed.

69)- The biocratic ideology has been defined in general terms in paragraph 55 and in more detail in the fields of constitutional revision and education in the subsequent paragraphs. We will now proceed to apply it in a general way to certain aspects of our national life wherever it is possible to recommend concrete proposals. There are certain other aspects where only personal attitudes or collective psychological characteristics can bring about changes that would be designed to "develop the Canadian confederation ... etc." These can only be expressed in patriotic platitudes and are most appropriate for Brotherhood Week, the 1st of July, and Christmas time. This is not to minimize the invaluable importance of the patriotic and personal virtues. We can at the same time pinpoint certain attitudes which we can well dispense with but which unfortunately have become confused with what we fondly call our "traditions". One is independence upon the state to do for us what only we ourselves can do. This "let George do it" attitude assumes that "George's" interests are the same as ours. It has been said that even the best of deeds have been performed by mixed motives. Therefore caution and common sense prompt us to ask what is the gimmick. While as individuals we should not look a gift-horse in the mouth, society as a whole can not get something for nothing. If we do not pay off our vast indebtedness now, our posterity will have to do so or else abolish the money system. It is reminiscent of the extravagance of the court of Louis XIV who justified it thus - "apres moi, le deluge." All our politicians, of the left and of the right, promise us more and more of everything. We must always ask - Pro cui bono? Thrift and industry are as necessary as they ever were. However, their corporate expression is more significant than is their individual expression. This is where worker-owned industry and a strong credit union banking system can bring industry and finance back to the vigorous small entrepreneur and community enterprise of the last century. It is the only way Canada will be able to offset the increasing foreign control of our natural resources and American domination of our industry. The anti-British slogans of the separatists is a smoke-screen to mask the hidden colonial lords of Quebec. Just as the French and English were united in 1864 by realization of the common military threat, so must we likewise together rise up to free ourselves from the financial threat to our national,

British and Christian institutions. Another common attitude which weakens our confederation is apathy or hostility toward politics. It is understandable but can not be excused. Let us remember the words "Evil triumphs because good men do nothing." An informed electorate is an alert and active electorate. This is the best protection against penetration by the American agents of the Mafia, not by irresponsible police powers. Duplessis gave us enough of that. As long as public issues are decided by political machines, operating behind the scenes at our political party conventions, marking an X opposite a party hack's name on a ballot does not mean that the electors are actually deciding national issues. They are merely choosing who will get \$15,000 a year of their money. The modern election campaigns remind us of the formula of the Roman Emperor Diocletian - "Give the people bread and circuses." The reason that local elections and politics arouse the most interest is not only that the candidates are better personally known, but that the issues are also better known. Furthermore, many issues are directly decided by plebiscites which give the electors an opportunity to separate personalities from principles. But in provincial and federal elections the candidates and issues are not so well known and understood. Therefore quite often electors have to choose according to party rather than the candidate, even if they may prefer the other party's candidate to their own. This puts the voters in a many party government system in an awkward position. It results in blind party loyalty or unquestioning dependence upon the "chief" or more often indifference to the whole thing. Among younger people who feel frustrated by a sense of inability to shape national destiny, one reaction is to turn to the totalitarian method of deciding questions without political debate and delay. The youth were impressed by the fascist slogan that Mussolini made the trains run on time and the communist cliché that Stalin abolished unemployment. Among Canadian voters the general reaction is more often loyalty to the party and among the Canadiens loyalty to the "chief". The answer to this dilemma is plebiscite voting on all national issues by means of electronic devices. On a nation-wide scale this would remove issues from personalities so that a question will not be decided according to some politician's race or language. Provincial politics would give the voters a chance to vote for people as well as issues. Some provinces would only have representative legislative systems while others would have the direct elector plebiscite system as proposed for the federal. It is clear that electronic plebiscite voting could operate within or without the party system. As the marginal difference between the older parties shrink still smaller, it is possible that the party system of government may disappear, and may be replaced by a managerial form of govern-

ment as suggested by James Burnham in his classic study - The Managerial Revolution. Such a bureaucratic absolutism can only be avoided by creation of the biocratic society. Canada is the most logical place for biocracy because we need it and because we have not gone too far in the direction of capitalism or socialism in the economic field and toward democracy or totalitarianism in the political field. There is not better way to bring Canadiens and Canadians together than to build side by side the Canadian biocratic society of this century. There is the attitude of hostility toward a certain race, colour, religion or class. These forms of hostility are not so openly displayed as they used to be. They are now disguised as political issues or security measures. Political discrimination by means of outlawing a certain party or curbing freedom of speech and distribution of literature even if it is "hate" literature, is a back door method or loophole for exercising other forms of prejudice. I suspect that many demands for outlawing the communist party are really aimed at Jews. It is the thin edge of the wedge for later official discrimination against Jews. We can see that taking place right now in South Africa. No constitutional Bill of Rights nor a legislative one is worth the paper it is printed on if it fails to guarantee equality of political rights. Anti-communist discrimination is an excuse for every other kind of discrimination and suppression. It is one thing to specifically prohibit Canadians from acting as agents of a foreign power or to compel them to register as agents of such; it is quite another thing to lump together many loyal Canadians as disloyal because they belong to a certain party or group. People become communists for different reasons as they do liberals or conservatives. As far as mixing religious prejudices with politics, it is really a matter of failing to distinguish between the things of Caesar and of God. Jesus Christ did not provide any formula for where to draw the line between the two; every culture and civilization has to find that out for itself. The line shifts back and forth from century to century and according to geography. A good example of this is the change in marriage laws in their relation to the role of clergy and state officials in the right to solemnize marriage. Time was when marriages were legal only when performed by clergy of a certain denomination. Divorce was impossible to obtain. Now we have a great variety of marriage and divorce laws from province to province, as well as some federal responsibility for divorce. It is a terrible muddle. The People's Forward Party proposes that marriage be a legal contract signed before a notary public. It would not be a civil "ceremony" as there would not be any suggestion of biblical phraseology in it. Like any other contract establishing a partnership, all the rights and duties of each partner would be

specifically set forth in legal terms. It would be a summary of the most important items of various statutes concerning marriage which have been adopted by provincial and federal governments. As a legal document the text of the exchange of vows in civil ceremonies is not clear enough to guide in interpreting disputes or litigation between marriage partners. The text is practically the same as the Anglican and other Protestant marriage vows. Among the omissions is a clear definition of property and personal rights, responsibilities regarding children, etc. Many denominations object to civil marriage as a usurpation of clerical privileges by secular officials. The national syndicalist successor to civil marriage would be called "entering into a marital (or conjugal) contract". Divorce would consist of signing cancellation clauses at the bottom of the marital contract, the witnesses being what are now called "correspondents" in divorce proceedings. Couples not believing in divorce would sign Form A, without cancellation clauses. Divorce would be legally termed "termination of conjugal contract". Court proceedings would be unnecessary if both parties consent. The termination would have to be advertised as like the termination of all other partnerships. Application for annulment abroad would have to be cleared through the Department of External Affairs. Couples who believe in divorce on certain grounds would sign Forms B, C and D, whose cancellation clauses would vary according to terms, Form D allowing termination according to mutual consent, and not limited to any particular reason or reasons. The incidence of divorce would decrease if the man only had to pay alimony to reimburse the wife for her actual financial outlay from her capital and funds at the time of marriage, and he would continue to be financially responsible for the children. While some may object to reducing marriage to a business contract, without flowers, music and wedding attire, the place for that is in church or in a club. Signing a conjugal contract would be a business transaction, not a sentimental or semi-religious ceremony. The authority for issuing marriage licenses, minimum periods of waiting, minimum age of consent and other requirements for marriage would be given to the provincial authorities. This common-sense handling of the marriage and divorce question would remove a thorny source of contention which has marred national unity. Through our membership in the U.N.O. we should try to bring about some international agreement about recognizing the validity of marriages and divorces of one country by another. Another quite common attitude is when one thinks his side is 100% right and those who disagree are 100% wrong. There may be some questions where there is no compromise between what is right and what is wrong, especially in mathematics and some practical or applied science. But in the realm of thought and

behaviour it is not so easy to say what is black or white. In a pluralistic society such as ours, standards of individual or group behaviour can only be classed as shades of gray. In these circumstances, co-existence is the only *modus vivendi*, or in other words let us agree to disagree. This approach is our heritage from Britain and is the one which has carried the Canadian people through ~~many~~ of its crises, which would have wrecked other unions and federations. In the realm of economic ideology the same approach is needed to prevent monopoly capitalism which is another word for fascism, or monopoly state enterprise which is really communism. National syndicalism is the third form of economic system, distinct from the others because it is of the future. The few worker-owned enterprises and credit unions already operating in Canada are the nucleus of the third system. As they develop, they will need a political champion at Ottawa to ensure that they will get equal treatment with capitalist (i.e. absentee owned) or state-owned enterprises in the way of government contracts, government credit and tax write-offs, etc. In our attitude toward scientists and technicians on the one hand, and the professionals in law, the Church and the military on the other hand, Canadians as a whole need a more balanced and unified viewpoint. The universities and secondary schools of English-speaking Canada place more emphasis on technical and scientific training for business, construction and engineering; whereas the educational institutions of the corresponding levels in Quebec emphasize the liberal arts in preparing for the Church, law and medicine. One can discern a modification of these extreme emphases. A more efficient and nation-wide bilingualism would serve to draw the younger intellectuals in all parts of Canada closer together. A single vision of the future Canada will channel the energies and loyalties of all Canadian youth in and out of schools into more effective projects and activities instead of smashing the monuments of dead generals and queens. The building of the new biocratic society will take their minds off vain political dreams, and out-of-date controversies. Whereas socialism was an intellectual fad which American and British youth picked up and then discarded two or three decades ago, the intellectuals of Laval and Montreal Universities are only now discovering it. As David Bell has explained in his recent book "The End of Ideology", political and other utopian ideologies are being greeted by American and British youth and intellectuals with a big yawn. The English-speaking section of Canadian youth and intellectuals falls somewhere between the sophistication of youth elsewhere and the secularistic faith of Quebec youth. Youth in France have developed a sort of iconoclasm which distrusts and rejects the institutional concept of society and thought. This may be interpreted as a retreat from communism but is not yet a movement

toward biocracy. Philosophy is likewise floating in a vacuum without an identifiable contemporary form or direction. This attitude of the intelligentsia is reflected in the general public by a sort of anti-intellectualism. During the "know nothing" McCarthy era, intellectual leaders were downgraded by the commonly used epithet "egg heads". It must be admitted that the prestige of educators was not enhanced by their flirtation with the now-discredited left-wing and pinkish liberalism. George Lincoln Rockwell, a graduate of the old and respected Brown University, has still further tarnished the reputation of intellectuals with his American Nazi outfit. He has shown that a fool with an education is still a fool. Our awe of scientists and technicians is mingled with disgust with their moral weakness. The Nazi technicians who administered the extermination camps and the American nuclear physicists who built the atom bomb which decimated the innocent civilians of Hiroshima, have shown that devils with an education are still devils. The technical and intellectual infallibility of scientists is nullified by their moral fallibility. Even in their own special fields the scientists and educated professors have been excelled by laymen. The two mechanics who ran a bicycle shop, Orville and Wilbur Wright, proved by building and flying their heavier than air machine that the professors were wrong. These learned men threw cold water on the popular idea that heavier than air machines might some day be built. They tried to prove by the laws of physics that it would be impossible. According to the rules of aerodynamics, a bumble bee should not be able to fly. A young Swiss government clerk named Albert Einstein without a special degree in mathematics provided an answer to a problem or rather a paradox concerning the speed of light which had puzzled theoretical physicists. His answer, or perhaps guess, was developed into the now famous theory of relativity. One could go on with a very long list of "laymen" who have contributed as much as professional scientists or experts to our present fund of inventions and scientific thought. Some of them resulted from chance as much as deliberate research. In the fields of government and economics also, we have learned to respect the ideas and abilities of laymen. In our own Canadian history we have seen men like J. S. Woodsworth, Henri Bourassa, Sir William Osler, Dr. Graham Bell, to mention only a few, excel in fields of thought and endeavour where only experts were supposed to qualify. In the Canada of the future, we may expect this combination of lay and expert skill to carry us through the present transition stage from democracy to biocracy. Herein lies the basic difference between biocracy and technocracy. Biocracy (the rule of life) uses energy as part of a program to develop all our faculties; whereas

technocracy uses energy for the sake of using energy. While to most people these differences may appear to be mere abstractions, nevertheless when translated into systems of government and forms of organized society, they become matters of life and death. The form and direction of Canadian life are influenced by whether biocracy or technocracy prevails. These concepts are not limited to tiny minority groups like the Ralliement du Peuple Canadien or Technocracy Incorporated; they underlie the unseen struggle going on within all our modern world-wide industrial society, of which Canada is a part. Both attitudes are found within the political parties of the right and the left and among members of most churches. We have reached the stage in our national history when the old mechanistic concept of society must yield to the new organic concept of society. The widening gulf between our dual nations within one nation and the economic stresses and strains which tear at the fabric of confederation as a whole have their roots in the twentieth century transition from democracy to biocracy. In this context, totalitarianism is the one party form of democracy. The transition will not be easy, but British traditions will guide us to the other side. British traditions are not economic or political in their origin, but are sociological. The British institutions of Crown and people will outlast democracy and economics because they existed before them. The latter two were the products of a particular era. The science of sociology which developed from the career of Sir Patrick Geddes is still in its infancy. So long as it pursues the statistical approach to the problems of human relations, the sociologists who include economists and statisticians, fail to see the wood for the trees. Finally, we have to balance the optimism and idealism of youth with the pessimism and realism of maturity. The impatience of youth when not tempered with experience leads to various kinds of totalitarianism which can not tolerate the slowly grinding gears of the parliamentary process. Above all, they have no time for the lessons of history; they think they are too busy making history. I believe it was Toynbee who remarked that one thing we learn from history is that other people have not learned from history. The present separatist fad illustrates that better than anything else in Canada. As a political fad it is on a par with the Beatle craze in the realm of music (?). We need a certain proportion of youth in government to spur our leaders to action. The voting age should be lowered to 18 years for the federal franchise. A few 18 year olds in the Upper House officially representing youth and a few in the provincial legislatures would liven things up a bit and help clear out the dead wood in government. In spite of the handwringing about juvenile delinquency, youth is essentially puritanical and moralistic. If 20th

century youth is rebellious, it is because it has no star to which it can hitch its wagon. Capitalism and socialism went out with the horse-drawn and the Model T car. When youth discovers biocracy, it will recognize it as the ideology of the space-ship age. Dope, alcohol and sex will be forgotten in the excitement of real achievement. They are in a psychological sense only substitutes for achievement. What Canadian and Canadian youth needs is something greater than itself and greater than any nationalism is a new sweeping form of internationalism. Biocracy is presently the only thing on the horizon which resembles an internationalism. The Baha'i World Faith is the only other alternative. However, its psychological appeal is limited to certain types of people.

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CONCLUSION

In order to adequately present the national syndicalist position on the question of bilingualism and biculturalism, it has been necessary to review at some length something of the historical background of the relationships between the two founding races and the relationship of the many different cultures within the English-speaking part of Canada. The present is the product of the past as much as it is the link with the future. The biocratic ideology of the future has been later introduced to show what steps must be taken to bring it about in Canada. From the biocratic viewpoint, the particular recommendations which have been made to foster a more effective dualism in Canada also serve another purpose. This is to say that Canadian dualism is a means to an end. If we can preserve our duality, we will thereby demonstrate that the world can, on a larger scale, achieve a correspondingly greater multiculture partnership. If we can learn something from other dual cultures, they can learn much more from us. This brief has emphasized our success and other countries' failures in maintaining such a dualism. Although the Canadian Confederation has been described as an accident of history, we have somehow overcome the inherent disadvantages of our 1867 legacy and in a limited sense, have accomplished something. Whether that accomplishment has been because of our peculiar historical background and material attributes or in spite of them is a question this brief has not attempted to answer. The closest we can come to answering that is to list the favourable and unfavourable factors. This approach was in the listing of centripetal and centrifugal forces which have been working upon our French-English partnership. In order to pronounce a definite verdict upon the present state of Confederation, we would have to get a clearer perspective of Canada's place in the Western Hemisphere and the

world. We also need a more vivid sense of national identity. One is almost tempted to conclude that there are as many concepts of what is Canadianism as there are Canadians. Our present condition may be summed up by saying that we don't know where we are going, but we are on our way. In relating the problems resulting from bilingualism and biculturalism to the official program of the Ralliement du Peuple Canadien, it has been difficult to select those items which are most directly related to them. The whole matter of national unity includes many factors which are not apparently so relevant, yet they are nevertheless relevant. For instance, Canada should join the Organization of American States for the sake of hemispheric solidarity. Such membership would strengthen our trading position there. However, due to the coolness of Canadian public opinion regarding relations with Latin America, it was decided not to discuss that item of national syndicalist foreign policy. The recommendations in this brief have been mostly limited to government action and legislation. However, private individuals and industry can do much more than government in strengthening biculturalism. The key to the whole question is the changing of certain attitudes. If the government could regulate by law the attitude they want the people to take toward other races, there would be nothing to it. Some civil rights legislation comes dangerously close to that. King Henry VIII of England solved the problem of controlling popular sentiment very simply by having Parliament to pass an "Act to abolish diversity of opinions". Our mass media of communications are doing almost the same thing in a more subtle way. As long as the television, radio and the daily press ignore the opposition of some Canadians to dualism, better understanding, etc., the hostile and unco-operative attitudes will persist and express themselves in an embarrassing way. We don't want a Canadian version of "citizens' councils" which are the reactions of white southerners against official efforts to promote good will and equality. It all takes time everywhere. Attitudes which have been inherited for generations won't disappear overnight by legislation, royal commissions, or any media of communications. To quote the evangelist Billy Graham, "You can't legislate goodness into people or the devil out of them." The only way that Canadians can work together to maintain and strengthen our partnership is by general support of a grass-roots national movement which will give them a vision of the new Canada and an incentive to work for it. It will require intelligence, courage, tolerance and perseverance.

Respectfully submitted,

Marvin A. Park.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM & BICULTURALISM

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COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUÊTE SUR
LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

Mr. Paul Lacoste,
Secretary, Royal Commission

Dear Mr. Lacoste:-

I am sending you some additional material relative to the brief which I submitted to you on behalf of the Rally of the Canadian People (formerly called the People's Forward Party of Canada). Some of these postscripts may be described as after thoughts; others are suggested by subsequent events and developments in Canadian affairs.

They do not necessarily follow the same order as the subject matter of the brief. P and Roman Numerals in the margin refer to a paragraph number in the text of the brief and p and a number indicates the page of the brief containing the paragraph. In the copy of the brief which is enclosed, the numbers in the margin indicate the postscripts which refer to the underlined words or sentences in brackets shown thus- []

If your letter containing comments and questions reaches me soon enough, if sent to my home address, given below, I will try to answer it before the third of December. The St. Lawrence Seaway will be closing after December 3, so it is hard to say whether I will be able to attend your hearing, as I have not transferred to the other ship yet. If I should be able to attend, I will telephone Mr. Stinson the day before. I remain

Your's sincerely,

Marvin A. Park,

Home Address:- R.R. # 2, Canfield, Ont..

P XL L)- Modernization and industrialization will make political and
 page 35&37 cultural isolation from the continental hegemony more difficult if a
 not impossible. the present degree of isolation is due mostly to a
 semi-feudal ecclesiastical system which has maintained its peculiar
 characteristics through the federal system which created an autonomous
 provincial government. the modern age is already producing an increas-
 ingly secular type of culture in Quebec. Undue opposition to it by
 the clergy could very well produce a violent anti-clericalism remini-
 scent of Mexico during the twenties. Although as has been stated else-
 where, the hierarchy is officially silent, or at least non-committal. However,
 the June-July issue of Monde-Nouveau which is the publication of
 the Sulpicians of Montreal University would suggest a more openly
 sympathetic pro-separatist attitude by the younger clergy. The special
 issue dealing with independence might at the same time be considered
 to be a "feeler" to test public reaction to a more openly pro-separat-
 ist position by the Church as a whole.

A new republic with a decidedly socialist economy would face a
 difficult problem of how to forge industrial and financial ties with
 English-speaking North America while at the same time keeping aloof
 from them politically. It raises the question of how closely would a
 socialist Republique de Quebec co-operate with N.O.R.A.D. and with
 Washington and Ottawa on other matters of continental and hemispheric
 security. What would be Quebec's international alignment? While
 Washington remains ostensibly silent concerning the possibility of
 another socialist Latin American type of republic in the hemisphere,
 it is difficult to see how it can be unconcerned by the openly leftist
 if not marxist line of the separatist leaders.

P L 2)- Would an amalgam between French and English be achieved through
 page 51 more intermarriage? So far there has not been enough intermarriage to
 accomplish much. In order to increase intermarriage, nation-wide
bilingualism and relaxation of church laws against "mixed" marriages
and religious fraternization.

L VII 3)- Steps in adopting new constitution:- Set July 1st 1967 as the tar-
 page 56 getfor new or amended constitution to come into effect. Proclaim
 next parliament as a "Constituent Assembly" with authority to appoint
 a royal commission to receive briefs and suggestions and to prepare a
 report. If ratified in a general referendum vote by a two thirds
 majority vote, the Governor-General and the Constituent Assembly and
 the Senate and all the provincial legislatures would officially pro-
 claim and adopt it.

Suggested composition of constitutional royal commission :-
12 members, headed by Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, with
 premiers of two provinces as deputy chairmen. 4 French speaking;
 8 English-speaking; 5 Catholics; 5 Protestants; 1 Orthodox; 1 Jewish
 in religion.

Of the English-speaking members- 2 English, 2 Scotch, 1 Irish,
 1 German, 1 Ukrainian, 1 Jewish.

LXIX page 69 4)- Attitudes to avoid:- "If it works, it must be good" could apply to gangster and racketeer empires as well as to political and economic ideologies. See also 42

p LXVIII page 66 5)- Suitable anthem for opening and closing exercises in schools- Rudyard Kipling's "Children's Song"

Land of our birth, we pledge to thee
Our love and toil in the years to be;
When we are grown and take our place
As men and women with our race.

p LXVII page 65 6)- Re Crash Program of teaching two languages:- Give contracts to private language tutoring firms, e.g., Berlitz School of Languages, and other private firms in bilingual areas, adult education night schools, rural short term folk schools. In this connection, I corresponded with the Ontario Teachers' Federation

p LIX page 59 7)- Titles for Chief of State: His Serene Canadian Highness, (.first., name), Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Roy of the Realm of Canada; Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Canadian armed forces, National Commander of the Royal Canadian Order of Champlain, etc.. Inscription on coins and official designations:- Princeps Defensor Populi Canadensis, honorary patron of boy scouts and other patriotic organizations. Consort called Her Serene Canadian Highness... (first name)..., Worthy Commander of Daughters of Madeleine de Vercheres and Laura Secord.

To be installed in a ceremony called the "Investiture", to be held in the National Hall of Honour (the present Senate Chamber).

p LXIV 8)- Canada is the most over governed country in the world. Cite per capita figures. page 63

p XXXI 9)- Add to the list of religious differences- non conformance to the authority of the state and participation in citizenship duties. page 2 3

p LXIII page 16 10)- Add to list of unsuccessful unions or federations- secession of Jamaica from West Indies Federation; British Guiana did not join it; reason was geographical isolation of member states.

p XXXIV 11)- Violations of religious rights to proselytize or canvass infringed by municipal bye laws, requiring "peddling" licenses.

p XI page 8 12)- Canadien overseas military participation; Les Zouaves in 1871 during war between Pope Leo and Garibaldi. The regiment still parades in Michelangelo style of uniform in various public functions in Quebec.

LXVII 13)- Question- How many English-language lessons on Radio-Canada? None listed in TV Hebdo. Page 65

p XXVI p 19 LXVII p 65 p 53 14)- Re hampering bilingualism outside Quebec- the separatists oppose bilingualism: see pamphlet "Le bilinguisme qui tue". Contrary argument should be left to psychologists and pedagogists rather than political propagandists. See also ^{book} by Raymond Barbeau- "Le Quebec Bientot Unilingue?"

XL, XLIII pages 35&39 15)- Reaction of Quebec people to separatism: "hat is the significance of the general boycott of the royal visit to Quebec in 1964 which was called by the S.S.J-B. ? There also seems to be a wider support of the associate state idea among influential groups like the Chambers of Commerce, etc.. Also significant is the appointment of legislative committee to study Quebec's future constitution.

P 16)- Re S.S.J.-B.:- Do the views of the Societe in Quebec in support of the
 XLIII associate state status reflect those of the members outside Quebec?

p 39 17)-Re assimilation of immigrants:-It really works both ways. We may
 P unconsciously adopt some of the ways and culture of the immigrants at the
 XLVIII same time that they consciously adopt our language and ways. It must be
 p 47 admitted that the criminality of some Mediterranean immigrants has been
 43 absorbed into our North American way of life. All prospective immigrants
 should be required to learn both languages before admission to the country
 or before acquiring citizenship.

P 18)- Re exchange of Christian names:- When will English-language people in
 III Ontario give their children French names like Rejeanne, Ghislaine, Teles-
 2 54 phore, Marcel, Atmand, Adelard, etc.? These are distinctively French names,
 not names common to both languages with different spellings such as John
 (Jean), Mary(Marie), Peter(Pierre), etc.. Furthermote, some of these dis-
 tinctively French names are not of Catholic origin, such as Dieudonne or
 Rosaire which in another language is spelled Deodato or Rosario. How many
 Quebec people give their children distinctively British names like Brian,
 Lloyd, Clyde, Roy, Edith, which are likewise not of biblical origin? More
 of these British names are used by people of European origin who include
 recent immigrants and those of the second generation. More French in On-
 tario use English names. Also significant is the fact that fewer of the
 younger Quebec parents are giving Catholic and religious names.

P 19)- Re introduction of the vernacular:- will this isolate the French
 XXXI Catholics from the English-speaking Catholics? The increase of local
 p 24 autonomy of bishops in each diocese (called "episcopal collegiality")
 would also have the same effect. Can this be offset by more active ecu-
 menical relationships between Catholics and others in Quebec?

P 20)- Re speech of Mrs. Kirkland-Casgrain about teaching about Salazar
 LXVI in Catholic schools in Quebec- Is there as much mention of Canadian
 p 64 English-language and Protestant heroes and historical figures or of
 Canadian history as there is of those cited by Mrs. Kirkland-Casgrain?

Conclu. 21)- Example of discrimination or suppression of expression of the sepa-
 page 76 ratist side of the argument on the CBC - program "Canadian Moods", June
 13, at 5 p.m. (Cite correspondence with BBG) After that, I noticed more
 broadcasting of the other side.

22)- The increased distribution of Francophones outside Quebec would
 IX most likely be achieved by economic factors. What should be the role of the
 5 governments in achieving this? short of engaging directly in industry or
 supervising the hiring or movement of workers from one part of the country
 to another? Cf E.C..Drury's plan for transferring industries and their
 staffs together from Europe.

in Ontario
 P 23)- In connection with 20, above, in the naming of places for honouring
 XLVIII heroes, British military imperialist sentiment was strongly evident by
 p 49 such names as Wellington, Waterloo, Blenheim, Guelph(the name of the
 Royal family before Queen Victoria), Lucknow, Delhi, Trafalgar, Nelson
 and a great many more commemorating British persons and events. On the
 contrary, comparatively few places in Quebec are named for places, events
 or historical figures in France. Mostly Church names were given instead.
 This difference in nomenclature was a barometer of a more distinctively

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Canadian sentiment among Quebecers in the last century. More recent nomenclature in new areas since the 1920's for townships, counties, cities show more show more modern local names like political figures, old Indian names and less religious names.

24)- Belated recognition and admission by Anglophones of real friction and justified grievances. Cf. article in Maclean's Magazine by Mordecai Richler "What's bugging everybody"; and the book "Dear Enemies" by Gwethalyn Graham and Denise Rolland-Chaput. There have been many others in current periodicals. Refer to similar vein of the interviews quoted in your Commission's preliminary report.

25)- A particularly atrocious example of a grievance re 24 above was in 1958 when Donald M. Gordon, president of the CNR callously disregarded the wishes of Montrealers in naming the new CNR hotel the "Queen Elizabeth" instead of the "Chateau Maisonneuve". As the hotel was federal property constructed at public expense, the taxpayers of Montreal had the right as city residents to choose the name they wanted.

26)- One positive advantage and aspect of separatism might be that it will jolt other Canadians out of their rut of dull conformity and ideological vagueness and lack of vigorous expression of national honour and sentiment. We now begin to realize that Quebec is more than picturesque outdoor shrines and bake-ovens and loggers with woollen toques. Sanity magazine had a good article on Quebec entitled "Under New Management" explaining what is now called the "quiet revolution".

27)- Isolation of French from the rest of Canada makes the English think of them as a sort of foreigners. It is something like the way boys who have been educated separately from girls in their early years feel on meeting them that they are almost like another race or species. Another comparison is the countryman's impression of the city as a different world or civilization having little in common with his own.

28)- Re S.S.J.-B:- Article by the president of the Society, Georges-Henri Fortin, in June-July issue of Monde Nouveau suggests a more open approval of political independence for Quebec. This contrasts with the non-committal attitude as expressed in 1962 and 1963, which then considered separatism as a matter of partisan politics rather than national loyalty.

29)- In list of newer sects among English Canadians, one could mention Spiritualism of which a former prime minister was reputed to be a devotee. One wonders how many national questions were decided by the advice of a spiritualist medium.

30)- Hootenanny has led to a revival of old time Ontario and Maritime folk tunes which can be discovered and revived. Edith Fowke and Dr. Marius Barbeau have long pioneered in this and deserve more recognition for their contribution to hootenanny. Toronto's Alan Tyson has made some old time Canadian songs internationally popular.

31)- Another difference between French and English culture is the masculine dominance in Quebec, e.g. marriage and property rights, absence of feminine role and participation in lay administration of church affairs, politics, school boards, absence of secular women's organizations such as the Women's Institutes, I.O.D.E., women's branches of fraternal

orders, The legal disabilities are being removed, but not without strong opposition led by the clergy and the ordinary public. This was well illustrated by the political showdown in 1944 between Cardinal Villeneuve and Premier Godbout over granting the provincial voting franchise to women. It will be a long time before the Latin cult of masculine superiority disappears from the Canadian tradition.

32)- European immigrants do not give their children French names like Marcel, Yvonne, etc., therefore they do assimilate with the French section of Canada.

33)- Re achieving amalgam: Do we wish to do so consciously? Perhaps if Confederation were an intermittent political association, an amalgam might come more quickly. Maybe political independence will be necessary to help Quebec to even up the present economic disparity. In any event, a customs union would be the only basis of economic association between the two nations.

34)- Split in Montreal S.S.J.-B.: re exclusive identification with Roman Catholic Church. Cf. article in Le Magazine Maclean of June 1965 by James Bamber "La Saint-Jean Baptiste de Montreal est déchirée".

35)- Re new flag: Separatists do not fly it because it represents Ottawa, not Quebec. For that reason, before and during the flag design debate and controversy, they ignored the whole matter.

36)- Attitude to avoid: "If it is physically possible, it should be legally possible" was an argument used by the C.C.F. for complete state nationalization and control during war-time, under the slogan "total mobilization of human and national resources". This could be logically carried to the conclusion that since gas extermination ovens are physically possible, they should be legally possible; in other words, this attitude leads to Belsen and the other Nazi atrocities.

37)- The same ignorance of British tradition is evident by the neglect of the Canadian government to provide a merchant marine ensign incorporating the new flag officially adopted last February. The Republic of Hindustan has a red ensign containing its new flag flying on its ships. It is evident that the Hindus have a better appreciation of British traditions than we have; at least in respect to heraldry.

38)- The recent award of the MBE to Ringo Starr, the Beatle singer, may be interpreted as an effort to capture the enthusiasm of teenagers the world over for royalty and other things British. Teenagers might get the impression that members of royalty are not "square" in their musical tastes. The close friendship of the Countess of Snowden with well-known figures in the entertainment world is general knowledge. The impression that the Queen is "hip" may dilute the influence of separatism among Quebec teenagers.

39)- Name of first bishop after conquest? Discrepancies in accounts of name of first bishop and place and date of his consecration. Joseph Costisella's book "Peuple de la Nuit" quotes Mason Wade ("The French-Canadians") as giving the bishop's name as Briand.

40)- One British element which did not settle in large groups or settlements were the Welsh as they did in the mining districts of Pennsylvania.

The absence of a large Welsh element may explain the lack of working-class militancy in Canada. We have had no Canadian equivalent of John L. Lewis or Aneurin Bevan or many syndicalists among Canadian trades unionists.

41)- The confederation of the four British provinces did not come about as the result of popular enthusiasm or demand or mass-scale revolt as in the case of the American colonists against London's encroachments upon their local autonomy. On the contrary, the initiative for Confederation was taken by the political leaders. With the wisdom of aftersight, we can agree that they possessed and exercised better judgment than the average electors and most politicians. It has been truly said of them that "they builded better than they knew". As a matter of fact, confederation was opposed by some prominent political figures in all the four colonies which formed the original confederation. After all the behind-the-scenes manoeuvring, Confederation was in fact presented to the electors as a fait accompli. Confederation certainly can not be said to be a spontaneous popular national movement in the sense that the 1936 Anschluss reflected the desire of all German-speaking people in central Europe to unite into a political union. This generally lukewarm attitude of all Canadians toward Confederation during its gestation has not subsequently burst forth into a flame of intense nationalism. As a marriage of convenience, it could almost be compared to a betrothal arranged by the parents during the infancy of the couple. Furthermore, the fact that the new constitution was officially a legislative gift from another government did not produce the same enthusiasm and sense of national achievement among the Canadian people as the creation of the American republic did among the colonists to the south for the simple reason that it was accomplished by their own initiative.

42)- In order to achieve the closest co-operation between church and state in respect to legal recognition of marriages solemnized by a clergyman, all clergy could be appointed as notary publics of a special or limited authority to register and administer conjugal contracts, thus avoiding the need for two separate marriages. The present system of compulsory civil marriage which is in force in many countries like France and Russia means that couples wishing a religious marriage ceremony in addition to the one performed by a state official have to take extra time and effort to have a religious ceremony performed by another person in another place. Such a limited status of notary public of clergy could also authorize them to register births and deaths under certain circumstances. Speaking of the status of religious organizations within a political society, one might compare them thus: In England the state church is dominated by the state; in Spain the state is dominated by the Catholic Church to the extent that canon law is identical with secular law; in the United States and most American republics the churches are separate from the state, with some degree of tacit recognition; in communist countries no religious organization is recognized by the state. In Canada the state co-operates with the churches to whatever extent they desire, depending upon the attitudes and beliefs of the churches themselves. This varies from special recogni-

tion of the Catholic Church in the province of Quebec to complete separation of church and state in British Columbia.

43)- While a dramatic history of action and violence such as the epic of the wild and woolly west may make American history more interesting and exciting for adolescents to study and to watch on TV, it is no more a source of national pride than our's. Maclean's magazine had a good article in a recent issue to the effect that it should be a boast that Canadian history lacks the action and drama of American history. I think the article was called "I'm glad Canadian history is dull".

44)- Canadian culture is generally more masculine than the American because of harsher climate and environment. The settlement and mining development in the north in the last three or four decades has had the same influence generally on national psychology as the opening of the American and Canadian west where "men were men". The more predominantly rural character of Canadian society preserved the traditional pattern of small communities and a strongly organized family life in which the men wear the pants. This tendency has been strengthened by the stronger religious influence of the more conventional kind of Christian denominations than in the U.S.A.. Among the Protestants the Calvinist element and among the Catholics the Jansenist element were responsible for a more rigid moral code with a resulting masculine dominance. The movie "The little kidnappers" gave a very good idea of family life among the Scotch Presbyterian settlers of early Canada, and the priests and nuns from Porte Royale, France, illustrated the corresponding kind of moral austerity among the first clergy and religious in Canada from France. Jansenism lingered longer in Canada than in France, due to the pioneering life which left little scope for leisurely religious philosophy or sophistication which was more characteristic of the old world culture; also being more open to rationalistic influences.

45)- The term "racial" is used here in a cultural or sociological rather than anthropological sense. See also P VIII

46)- If we Canadians are not tolerant or intelligent enough to be able to discuss our differences without quarrelling or parting ways, then Confederation is not worth preserving. In other words, there would have been no such thing as Confederation. Mr. Diefenbaker should understand that this enquiry was not set up to find out if there is friction between the partners, but why there is.

47)- The urgency of this problem is evident in the new formulae which have appeared such as the "co-operative federalism" of the Quebec Liberals the "consultive federalism" of the Social Crediters, and what may be described as the "constitutional federalism" of Mr. Diefenbaker. It is difficult to apply or interpret them in tangible terms. The reason for this vagueness is that the old parties are out of touch with the twentieth century. In contrast, the syndicalist formula of sharing administration between the levels of government in certain departments may be described as "integrated federalism".

48)- It would be interesting to note the reactions of the left leaning separatists toward the recent independence declaration by the right wing Rhodesian government from Britain. If they support it, then we may conclude that separatism is no more than a purely Canadian nationalist movement directed against Britain; if they oppose independence for Rhodesia, they are following the communist line, thereby revealing some inconsistency.

49)- Additions to bibliography:- Search for Canada- V.S. Pritchett; Article in Nov. 1964 New Yorker about French-Canadian separatism by Edmund Wilson ; Toronto Globe and Mail Nov.6 by Richard J. Needham "Death of a Nation?"

50)- If the federal government appointed a National Academy of Arts and Sciences similar to the Academie Nationale of France, it could function as a correlating agency with the provincial departments of education, the various universities, philanthropic agencies and foundations and other similar cultural and scientific activities throughout the country. The present Canada Council is a step in that direction and could be expanded in scope to serve as a National Academy. The Academy could also operate a national university or institute of advanced studies which would include the present National Research Council and the Atomic Energy Corporation of Canada. The creation of a ministry of culture by the Quebec government is a welcome step in this direction. It is to be hoped that the other provincial governments will do likewise. On the federal level, a National Academy would be preferable to a cabinet ministry of culture in order to avoid any suggestion of partisan politics, thereby strengthening national unity. To achieve all this will require better understanding and concrete action.

51)- The riot last summer in Toronto led by European Jews against some Canadian Hitlerite speakers would indicate that some recent European immigrants are not succeeding any better than earlier immigrants in leaving old country feuds behind them.

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TITRE: Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

AUTHOR: Marvin A. Park,
Toronto, Ontario.

Brief of 76 pages ; 3 recommendation(s)

REMARKS OF ANALYST: This brief can best be described as discursive. Its main thesis is that Canada is the product of centripetal forces which bind it together, but that it is constantly being assailed by centrifugal forces which would destroy it. Much historical material is presented in favor of this thesis and of tangential concepts which the author frequently introduces, but this material is not always organized as concisely as it might. Some sixteen pages are given over to a detailing of the three principle recommendations advanced.

ATT.: RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION: The author of this brief submits it as spokesman for "The People's Forward Party of Canada" (Le Ralliement du Peuple Canadien), "the political form of an economic ideology which stands for worker-owned enterprise and a form of government based upon class representation in Parliament and legislation by plebiscite, using electronic devices and which follows the social philosophy of Biocracy. The motto of the Forward Party is 'not right or left but forward'." The movement is described by the term "national syndicalism" (French: "autosyndicalisme") in the same way as other groups are socialist or capitalist.

"In order to avoid using the hyphenated form French-Canadian or English-Canadian or the expressions French-speaking or English-speaking Canadians, the term Canadien or Canadian will be used respectively instead. Also, the terms 'dualism' or 'duality' are used instead of bilingualism and/or biculturalism."

Introductory Material (pp. 1 to 5): Deals with national dualism both as an abstraction and in particular countries. Gives a short character sketch of the Quebecois. Explains how in each dual nation there are centripetal forces at work uniting the country and centrifugal forces which are tearing it apart.

Centripetal Forces in Canada (pp. 5 to 13): These include geography, our long historical association and common achievements, the combined force of our industrial civilization and the "One World" concept, and our resistance to the pull of the United States. Pages 8 to 13 deal with this last factor and with the general superiority of the Canadian system to the American.

Centrifugal Forces in Canada (pp. 15 to 51): These are set out in paragraph 21 on page 15: language differences; dissimilar cultural backgrounds; "geographical factors of climate and soil distribution which in turn have dictated the east-west distribution of population in a thin line along the southern border"; differences in political developments; religious differences; differences in concepts of Canadianism; separatism; inadequacies in our governmental structure; "stresses and strains of our modern world-wide, industrial society"; and defects of the United States which we possess to a lesser degree.

Pages 15 to 20 are devoted to a historical exposition of our language differences and also tie in some aspects of differences in our political developments.

The geographical factor is treated on page 20.

Pages 21 to 25 cover our dissimilar cultural backgrounds and touch on religious differences.

Pages 25 to 31 are concerned with differences in political developments and more specifically with an interpretation of certain historical events from the point of view of their effect on French Canada.

Pages 31 to 39 consist of a history of separatism from colonial times to the present.

Pages 39 to 51 have as their central theme the different concepts

of Canadianism which French & English have. However, pages 45 to 51 deal quite thoroughly with immigration and cultural integration of immigrants, particularly in English Canada.

Balance Sheet (pages 51 to 56): These pages are dedicated to an attempt to sum up the state of bilingualism and biCulturalism in Canada today.

Biocracy & Political Systems (pages 56 to 59): Here the author describes his political beliefs and their applicability

within our system of government.

Conclusion (pages 75 & 76):

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M É M O I R E

présenté

à

LA COMMISSION ROYALE

sur

LE BILLOUÏSME ET LE BICULTURALISME

P A R

Monsieur et Madame Georges-E. Parent
Gravelbourg, Sask.

Nous sommes parents de 8 enfants. Nous avons vécu dans le Québec jusqu'en mars 1961, alors que nous sommes venus nous établir en Saskatchewan.

Nous donnons ici le fruit de nos expériences, nos constatations, et nous y allons de quelques suggestions qui pourraient améliorer les choses. Toutefois, nous nous déclarons très pessimistes sur la possibilité que les corrections nécessaires soient apportées, la majorité ne le voulant pas, la minorité ne le trouvant pas nécessaire ou utile.

Marie F. Parent
Georges Parent.

Gravelbourg, Sask.,
le 29 juin 1964.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses. The names are written in a cursive hand, and the addresses are written in a more formal, printed hand. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and addresses on the right. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, and Thomas White. The addresses are: 123 Main Street, New York, NY; 456 Elm Street, New York, NY; 789 Oak Street, New York, NY; and 1010 Pine Street, New York, NY.

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I - Ministères fédéraux, Commissions ou Bureaux fédéraux.

Pour ceux qui vivent en-dehors du Québec, c'est automatique, toute correspondance, documents, publicité sont **reçus** écrits en anglais. Les chèques sont bilingues, les billets de banque sont bilingues, mais si vous avez besoin d'un renseignement, il faut insister pour l'obtenir en français, autrement tout est anglais. (Ceci quand ce sont des bureaux fédéraux à Ottawa). Il en va autrement quand ce sont des bureaux régionaux situés en Saskatchewan.

Un exemple illustrera mieux ce que nous voulons dire: quand nous sommes déménagés ici, notre dossier aux Allocations Familiales fut transféré du Bureau régional de Québec, à celui de Regina. Or, le premier chèque d'allocations familiales que nous avons reçu était adressé:

MRS. Giole Parent.

Ceci dénote croyons-nous un état d'esprit accepté partout en dehors du Québec. Le Canada est un pays anglais, avec une province bilingue, le Québec.

Il nous a donc fallu écrire et insister pour que les chèques qui nous sont adressés soient adressés en français. (Nous avons toutefois que bien peu de Canadiens-Français s'occupent de faire faire ces petites corrections).

Nous nous sommes longtemps demandé pourquoi ce changement se faisait-il automatiquement, du moment où nous changions de province. Pour nous, ce fut très vexatoire.

THOMAS LEE

Lors du dernier recensement, à Gravelbourg, où la population est d'environ 75% de langue française, le préposé au

recensement était unilingue (de langue anglaise bien entendu). Il n'avait aucune formule française en sa possession, et ce n'est qu'après que nous ayons eu refusé de répondre aux questions posées en anglais qu'il obtint des formules françaises, que nous avons dû compléter nous-mêmes en plus.

R. C. M. P.

Il y a un détachement de la R.C.M.P. à Gravelbourg, qui dessert un territoire où il y a quelques milliers de Canadiens-Français. Aucun des 4 policiers stationnés ici ne parle français.

C. N. R.

Aucun employé à la gare et au bureau de télégraphie ne parle français, même si la presque totalité des commerces et bureaux d'affaires de la localité sont dirigés par des Canadiens-Français.

P. F. R. A.

Le bureau régional du Prairie Farm Reorganisation Act est situé à Gravelbourg. Il compte cinq (5) employés et aucun ne parle français.

PARC NATIONAL DE BATHF.

Ce parc dit National ne montre aucune image d'une nation bilingue puisque pas une seule information, panneau ou document ne porte un seul mot de français. Il est impossible d'obtenir un renseignement en français à cet endroit. (Du moins en 1963).

C. B. C.

Radio-Canada n'a pas de poste de langue française en Saskatchewan. Il alimente en programmes les deux postes

de langue française, construits par les minorités de l'ouest, avec l'aide de la population de langue française du Québec. Cependant, à cause de la différence de deux (2) heures, entre Montréal et la Saskatchewan, les programmes ne sont pas toujours présentés à des heures convenables.

En ce qui regarde la télévision française, il ne faut pas en parler, et selon certaines déclarations des officiers de CBC, il ne faut pas espérer avoir la télévision française avant 10 ans. (Si cela doit être aussi long, il ne servira à rien de dépenser ces argents, cela n'en vaudra plus la peine).

ANALOGUE DE L'ANGLAIS.

A venir jusqu'à il y a quelques mois, il était **absolument** impossible d'obtenir le moindre service en langue française. Il arrive maintenant qu'il y ait un employé qui puisse dire quelques mots en français.

POUR RESUMER

ce qui regarde le Fédéral, il est bien évident que lorsqu'on sort du Québec, nous sommes dans un pays de langue anglaise, où nous nous sentons perdus, où l'on nous tolère parce que nous ne faisons pas trop de bruit, et parce que l'on compte sur le temps pour régler le problème. Nous avouons que leur calcul était juste.

La situation que nous avons décrite pour la région de Gravelbourg se confirme partout où il y a des groupes de Canadiens-Français: Ponteix, Val-Marie, Willow Bunch, partout en Saskatchewan et dans les provinces des Prairies.

II - Ministères et Bureaux du Gouvernement Provincial.

Dans les ministères, Bureaux, Corporations, Commissions, il n'y a qu'une langue, la langue anglaise. Il est impossible d'obtenir un renseignement en français de ces bureaux, même si les employés sont de langue française. A titre d'exemple nous mentionnerons qu'en 1962, la centrale téléphonique locale a été fermée à cause de la reorganisation du service. Trois employées qui travaillaient ici ont été transférées à la centrale d'Assiniboia, et à partir de ce jour, il ne nous est plus possible d'obtenir le moindre renseignement dans notre langue. Il leur est défendu sous menace de renvoi, de parler français à la centrale. Pour les gens d'ici qui parlent mieux l'anglais que le français, cela n'est pas un trop gros inconvénient, mais pour ceux qui arrivent et qui ont de la difficulté en anglais cela cause des embêtements.

ECOLLES.

Inutile ^{de dire} que le système scolaire de la Saskatchewan est unilingue et anglais. Toutefois, là où les commissaires d'école passent une résolution (chaque année), l'enseignement du français, ~~une heure par jour~~ est permis. Pendant cette heure, il est permis d'enseigner uniquement du français. Le français est une matière comme les autres. Là où les Canadiens-Français sont en majorité, il est relativement facile de passer cette résolution, mais s'ils sont en minorité, même s'ils sont assez nombreux, ils sont à la merci des commissaires d'école qui eux se soucient bien peu de faciliter cet enseignement du français. D'ailleurs, plusieurs officiers du Ministère de l'Éducation désapprouvent cet enseignement (déclaration du chef

de l'enseignement, au Ministère, qui disait que le système scolaire de la Saskatchewan était un "molting pot" d'où sortirait la nation "Canadian" de demain. (Willow Bunch, oct. 1960, lors de l'inauguration du High School). Avons-nous besoin d'ajouter la déclaration de l'inspecteur d'école Gorris qui disait à Verland, en avril 1964 qu'une heure de français par jour, c'était trop, et que les professeurs devaient consacrer au plus 40 minutes à cet enseignement.

Pour qui connaît le moindre des luttes que les nôtres ont poursuivies dans le passé, il n'est pas nécessaire d'accumuler les preuves de l'injustice qui nous est faite dans les écoles.

Nous avons vu que le gouvernement permet l'enseignement du français, une heure par jour, dans les écoles. Cependant, pendant 40 ans, soit depuis 1924 jusqu'à ce jour, le gouvernement ne s'est aucunement occupé de préparer un programme d'études, de voir à son application, à la correction des examens, etc.. Tout ce travail et les dépenses encourues étaient à la charge des parents qui souscrivaient chaque année une somme de quelques dollars à leur association qui elle, voyait à élaborer un programme, à le faire imprimer et distribuer, voyait à engager un ou deux inspecteurs (à ses frais), préparait et imprimait les questions d'examens à la fin d'année, payait les dépenses des professeurs qui corrigeaient lesdits examens.

Bien entendu, le gouvernement n'a jamais défrayé le coût des manuels de français, comme il le fait pour l'anglais. Et comme l'enseignement du français s'est poursuivi pendant 40 ans dans la Saskatchewan, avec la permission du gouvernement, mais cet enseignement, à ses yeux, n'avait aucune valeur.

Pour être juste toutefois, disons qu'à compter de septembre 1964, le Ministère donnera une reconnaissance plus officielle à cet enseignement, puisqu'il a accepté de faire imprimer le programme, et il semble que le salaire et les dépenses d'un inspecteur de français seront défrayés par le gouvernement à partir de 1965. Il doit couvrir également tous les frais d'impression et de correction des examens de fin d'année. Cependant, il n'y a pas d'obligation formelle à ce sujet, mais nous croyons franchement qu'il en sera ainsi.

PROBLEMES

La presque totalité des membres du corps enseignant sort de nos écoles. C'est donc dire que leur connaissance du français est déficiente, et cette situation ne fait qu'empirer puisque la qualité de l'enseignement va toujours se dégradant.

De plus, pour eux les professeurs, l'enseignement du français constitue un surcroît de travail pour lequel ils ne sont pas rémunérés. Ils savent que cet enseignement ne vaut pas grand chose aux yeux du ministère, et c'est pourquoi ils n'y attachent pas trop d'importance. D'ailleurs ils ne possèdent aucune méthodologie de cet enseignement, puisqu'à l'école primaire "The Teachers' College", il n'est pas question de français.

Selon une recherche enseignante qui a préparé une thèse à l'Université de l'Alberta en 1963, pour l'obtention d'un doctorat en Pédagogie, il y aurait 8 professeurs, sur un total de 239 professeurs de français (en Alberta et en Saskatchewan), qui possèderaient un diplôme valable en

français. De plus, la majorité des professeurs croient que l'enseignement du français nuit aux élèves en général, puisque le programme régulier (en langue anglaise) doit être comprimé pour permettre l'enseignement du français. Ceci aurait pour résultat de surcharger le programme et les enfants auraient plus de difficulté à faire le programme anglais.

C O N C L U S I O N S.

Est-il possible alors de parler du Canada comme un pays bilingue? Cela est-il possible et souhaitable?

Nous avouons franchement que l'avenir nous apparaît sombre. Il faudrait en faire tant que ceux qui ~~devront~~ faire les choses qui s'imposent ne le voudront pas.

Mais tout de même, si nous croyons qu'il vaille la peine de tout tenter, voici quelques **gostes** qui devront être posés aux différents niveaux, et ce sans aucun retard.

AU NIVEAU DU F E D E R A L:

Dans tous les ministères et Bureaux du Fédéral, tout Canadien qui porte un nom français où qu'il demeure, au Canada, devrait être considéré comme étant de langue française. En conséquence, toute correspondance devrait lui être adressée en français. S'il arrivait qu'il ait perdu sa langue, il lui appartiendra de le dire, car ce n'est pas l'exception qui doit établir la règle.

C.B.C. - Sur le plan radio, Radio Canada devrait faire les arrangements nécessaires avec les autorités des postes locaux affiliés pour que les programmes soient retransmis à des heures plus appropriées.

En ce qui regarde la télévision.- Aucun Canadien-Français au Canada ne devrait être privé de programmes en langue française, et ce dès maintenant. Pas dans 10 ans, mais sans aucun délai.

Bien entendu il ne saurait être question pour Radio-Canada de bâtir du jour au lendemain tout un réseau de stations et de postes satellites. Mais Radio-Canada peut consacrer quelques heures chaque semaine (aux heures qui avantage t le plus grand nombre) de ses horaires à des programmes français.

Dans les régions que Radio-Canada ne dessert pas, il devrait être possible de louer des périodes de stations indépendantes, afin que la population de langue française, surtout au Canada, puisse voir et entendre des programmes de télévision dans sa propre langue.

BUREAUX REGIONAUX: RCMP, PRIMA, etc... Dans les régions où il y a une concentration assez importante de population de langue française, il devrait être possible de trouver au moins un membre du personnel qui pourrait servir la population de langue française dans sa langue.

POUR LE SALAIRE: Afin d'obtenir des fonctionnaires bilingues, il devrait être accordé une prime au salaire à tout fonctionnaire qui a une connaissance suffisante des deux langues officielles au pays (langue parlée et écrite).

AU NIVEAU DU PROVINCIAL:

Dans les provinces autres que Québec, les gouvernements provinciaux devront réviser leur façon de voir d'une façon radicale, surtout en ce qui concerne l'enseignement du français.

Cet enseignement du français devra cesser d'être considéré comme un embarras. Il faudra que non seulement il soit toléré, mais il devra être encouragé.

Bien entendu, là où il y a une ou deux familles éloignées, noyées parmi une masse de langue anglaise, ces familles-là il faudra les laisser s'assimiler. Mais là où il y a un groupe assez important, il faudra tout faire pour leur permettre de survivre. Il faudra peut-être aller jusqu'à organiser des écoles régionales françaises, là où il serait possible de constituer une communauté, car il faut le dire, nos gens de langue française sont assimilés, il n'y aucune différence entre eux et les Américains du Montana et du North Dakota, par exemple.

Nous voyons donc, où cela est possible (une vingtaine de centres dans notre province, peut-être), où les petits Canadiens français recevraient toute leur éducation en français, pendant les 2 ou 3 premières années du cours primaire, après quoi serait introduite l'étude de la langue anglaise, pour atteindre le niveau secondaire (high school), les enfants puissent poursuivre leurs études, dans n'importe quelle institution. Car dans notre esprit, il est bien évident que pour vivre décemment en Saskatchewan et dans tout l'ouest, il faut connaître l'anglais.

Mais si nos gens doivent être bilingues, et ils le doivent, ce bilinguisme doit s'appuyer sur la langue maternelle de l'enfant.

Le système scolaire de la Saskatchewan favoriserait selon nous, l'établissement de telles écoles. Bien entendu, il faudrait peut-être corriger certaines situations défavorables qui

se sont créés lors du découpage des territoires coléaires,
(langues coléaires).

Il n'est pas question de séparer les Canadiens-Français dans un ghetto ou "petit Québec". Ceux qui vivent ici doivent savoir l'anglais, car ils ne sauraient trouver de l'emploi sans la connaissance de l'anglais. Mais par contre, il faut que la connaissance de la langue française par les nôtres soit meilleure, car dans 25 ans, il restera certainement quelques sujets qui pourront encore parler français, mais leur influence sera nulle, et ils représenteront bien peu pour la nation canadienne-française.

C'est donc à l'école en premier lieu, que l'action du gouvernement provincial doit se faire sentir; et cela est urgent, car la situation est tellement détériorée présentement qu'il faudra y aller avec entrain pour redresser cette situation.

Si cela ne se fait pas, ceux qui doutent qu'il y ait quel-
qu'avenir pour le Canadien-Français dans notre pays s'ancro-
nent davantage dans leur opinion, et nous ne devons pas
chercher alors de la Confédération.

Nous reconnaissons que ce qui précède n'est pas très opti-
miste, mais c'est la situation telle que nous la voyons après
une expérience de trois ans. Nous aimerions avoir des raisons
d'être plus optimistes, mais malheureusement, nous n'en trou-
vons pas présentement.

J. H. F. F. F.
George F. F. F.

CAI 21

TITRE: - 63B22

AUTEUR: Gisèle et Georges Parent, (Gravelbourg, Sask.)

Mémoire de 10 pages; aucune recommandation

REMARQUES DE L'ANALYSTE:

Ce mémoire donne une description de la situation dans une province anglophone, vue et vécue par une famille canadienne française du Québec qui vit en Saskatchewan depuis 1961. C'est le témoignage intéressant d'une famille "comme les autres" qui fait part de son étonnement et de sa déception, de son pessimisme mais aussi de sa confiance en une situation meilleure, confiance qui s'exprime dans un certain nombre de suggestions concrètes.

A L'ATTENTION DE LA RECHERCHE:

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Mémoire #: 770-702

M. et Mme Georges E.
Parent (Québec)MONTREALA. RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR LES INDIVIDUS

M. et Mme Parent ont vécu au Québec jusqu'en 1961, puis ils sont partis pour la Saskatchewan où M. Parent est devenu secrétaire particulier de Monseigneur Aimé Decosse, évêque de Gravelbourg. A cet endroit, ils ont ouvert une librairie française qu'ils ont vendue à leur départ et qui n'existe plus aujourd'hui. En 1965, M. et Mme Parent ont décidé de revenir au Québec. Les raisons de leur départ sont expliquées dans la lettre qu'ils nous ont fait parvenir et qui est reproduite ci-joint. M. Parent est aujourd'hui secrétaire particulier de l'honorable Albert Morissette, ministre d'Etat dans le cabinet provincial.

En raison de l'intérêt que peut représenter pour la Commission l'expérience du couple Parent en Saskatchewan, nous avons cru utile de reproduire la lettre explicative qu'ils nous faisaient parvenir le 21 juillet dernier et qui fournit sûrement matière à interrogation.

Messieurs,

Référant à votre lettre du 7 juillet laquelle vient de nous parvenir, nous regrettons de vous dire que nous serons dans l'impossibilité de nous rendre à Regina pour les audiences publiques de la Commission.

Après quatre années de vie en Saskatchewan nous avons définitivement décidé, pour le plus grand bien de nos enfants, de revenir dans la province de Québec, la seule province qui répondait pleinement à nos aspirations culturelles.

Nous avons bien aimé notre séjour dans l'Ouest. Nos enfants ont goûté à l'école anglaise (et ce à Gravelbourg centre à 85% français). Et à chaque année, leur français perdait du terrain malgré l'absence volontaire de la T.V. chez-nous et malgré qu'à la maison tout se passait entièrement en français. Alors, vous pouvez jugé de la crainte qui fut la nôtre de voir nos enfants devenir des Canadiens français à mentalité anglaise!

Nous avons réintégré Québec, nous ne le regrettons pas et nous osons croire, malgré notre scepticisme en la matière, que votre Commission pourra un peu éclairer la totalité des Canadiens sur son statut "bilingue".

Bonne chance et merci!

M. et Mme Georges E. Parent.

B. QUESTIONS...

... EN PROVENANCE DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES

p. 1
ministères
fédéraux etc...

re. "Il faut insister pour l'obtenir en français, autrement tout est anglais. (Ceci quand ce sont des bureaux fédéraux à Ottawa).

Q. 1 Sont-ils toujours servis de cette façon?

p. 1
para. 4

re. "Il nous a donc fallu écrire et insister pour que les chèques qui nous sont adressés soient adressés en français. (Nous savons toutefois que bien peu de Canadiens français s'occupent de faire ces petites corrections).

Q. 2 Cet état de choses existerait-il parce que trop peu de Canadiens français se prévalent de leurs droits auprès du fédéral?

p. 2
para. 4

re. "Prairie Farm Reorganisation Act".

Q. 3 Ont-ils besoin de communiquer fréquemment avec le bureau régional de cette agence?

p. 3
para. 2

re. Radio-Canada en Saskatchewan (TV).

Q. 4. Comment peuvent-ils affirmer que dans dix ans: "Si cela doit être aussi long, il ne servira à rien de dépenser ces argents, cela n'en vaudra plus la peine"?

La télévision leur apparaîtrait-elle comme l'élément de salut par excellence?

question
générale

Q. 5 Les auteurs ne mentionnent pas l'enseignement du français pour les anglophones.

Que faire pour que les Canadiens anglais puissent avoir l'opportunité d'apprendre le français?

✓
Feb
1966
June 17, 1966.

Mr. J.R.M. Gauthier,
President,
The Ottawa Newman Alumni Club,
P.O. Box 544,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Gauthier:

The submission of the Ottawa Newman Alumni Club to this Commission has been received and we wish to express our appreciation to you for your efforts.

It is a pertinent document, bearing directly on our terms of reference. Your thoughtful opinions will be of great interest to the Commissioners and those working on the Federal Public Service and the Ottawa environment.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Stinson
Director, Programme and Liaison

1/11



THE OTTAWA NEWMAN ALUMNI CLUB
Member of The Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs

P.O. BOX 544 OTTAWA, ONTARIO

June 9th, 1966.

Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P. O. Box 1508,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Sirs:

I enclose a Submission of this Club,
prepared by Mr. Gregory J. Gorman, and approved
at the annual meeting of the Club on May 27th,
1966, for consideration by the Commission.

Yours very truly,

THE OTTAWA NEWMAN ALUMNI CLUB,

JRMG/dy

Per: *J. K. M. Gauthier/dy*

ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM & BICULTURALISM	
750-568	
JUN 13 1966	
COMMISSION ROY	DEQUÊTE SUR
LE BILINGUISME & L	LE BICULTURALISME

SUBMISSION
OF THE OTTAWA NEWMAN ALUMNI CLUB
TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION
ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

Background of Submission:

The Ottawa Newman Alumni Club has a membership of about 300 men and woman who are for the most part university graduates of the Roman Catholic faith living in the Ottawa area. The Club was founded in 1940 and it has since its inception conducted and sponsored discussion groups and public lectures on subjects of community interest with particular emphasis on problems of higher education.

In the belief that the Club might usefully make a contribution to the solution of the problems of national unity being studied by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Executive of the Club appointed a special committee to study the matter and it has submitted the following report.

Sources of Division:

One of the chief sources of division between the English-speaking and the French-speaking communities in Canada has been the difficulty experienced by French-speaking persons in dealing with the Federal civil service at Ottawa in their own language. That has arisen because of the shortage of personnel having the ability to speak the French language in the senior and intermediate executive and administrative levels of the civil service.

Another source of division, in part resulting from the last mentioned, has been a feeling of alienation from the Federal authority resulting from the lack of opportunity for French-speaking persons to enjoy full participation in the processes of the Federal government and in the community life of the capital.

There have been a number of underlying causes for that state of affairs. The two most important causes have been a shortage of qualified French-speaking persons applying for positions and, until recently, the lack of a clearly defined government policy on bilingualism in the civil service.

The inducements and requirements outlined in the recently announced government policy on bilingualism in the civil service are designed to provide within the foreseeable future, a competent bilingual civil service but certain practical obstacles remain.

Obstacles to Bilingualism in Civil Service:

The two most formidable obstacles to the achievement of that state of bilingualism in the civil service which is generally accepted as desirable, are:

(1) The existing predominance of the English language and culture in Ottawa is a deterrent to recruitment of qualified French-speaking persons to the civil service because those who do live in Ottawa are denied the opportunity of full participation in community life in their first language.

(2) Neither the Ontario system of education nor the present Quebec system as it applies to English-speaking students are designed to produce students competent in the French language. The French-speaking student in the Quebec schools is often competent in the English language but the reason may lie elsewhere than in the method of instruction.

A National Capital Region:

Those two obstacles can be effectively overcome by the creation of a National Capital Region as a separate administrative unit not forming part of the provinces of Ontario or Quebec.

Both languages would enjoy equal status throughout the Region, both officially and administratively, and a practical bilingual atmosphere would be developed to the highest possible degree.

The educational system at all levels would be designed to produce the greatest number possible of fully bilingual graduates.

Establishment:

The establishment of the Region would require the consent of Ontario and Quebec and would not entail an amendment to the British North America Act or the consent of other provinces. See The British North America Act 1871 (34-35 Vict., c.28(U.K.)).

"3. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time, with the consent of the Legislature of any Province of the said Dominion, increase, diminish, or otherwise alter the limits of such Province, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed to by the said Legislature, and may, with the like consent, make provisions respecting the effect and operation of any such increase or diminution or alteration of territory in relation to any Province affected thereby.

"4. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the administration, peace, order, and good government of any territory not for the time being included in any Province."

Area and Population:

The area of the Region might encompass the area now designated as the National Capital Region comprising 1,800 square miles with a population of 440,000.

Local Government:

A National Capital Regional Council would be empowered by federal statute to exercise those powers now within the jurisdictions of the provincial and municipal authorities.

The Regional Council might be composed of a chairman elected by popular vote in the Region and a number of Councillors, one third of whom would be elected from the Region at large, one third appointed by the Federal Government from within the Region and the remaining one-third to be appointed from other parts of Canada.

The Regional Council would be responsible for all matters of local concern including planning and development, always subject to the federal statute establishing the Region, and subject also to the special safeguards established in matters of education.

Revenues and Finances:

The Regional Council would be empowered to levy and collect direct and local taxes within the region including municipal taxes. The special responsibilities of administering a National Capital Region would give rise to budget deficits which would be met by the federal authority. Council would report to Parliament through a responsible Cabinet Minister who would have the responsibility of presenting the budget to Parliament for approval.

Representation in Parliament:

A number of Senators would be appointed from the Region and representation in the House of Commons would be proportionate to the population of the Region. Electoral boundaries would have to be re-drawn so that all electoral districts would be within the territorial limits of the Region.

Sources of Law:

All federal laws of general application, including the Criminal Code, would apply. In that part of the Region formerly Ontario, Common Law and Ontario statute law in effect at the date of creation of the Region would apply; in that part formerly Quebec, Civil Law and Quebec statute law in effect at that date would apply. Both systems would be modified by Regional Ordinances as the systems evolved.

Administration of Justice:

All Courts of the Region would be bilingual with parties and witnesses free to use either language.

Education:

At the primary and secondary levels the same general course of studies and standards of instruction would apply throughout the Region and would be under the general supervision of the Regional Council.

All parts of the system at all levels would be eligible for public financial support.

Consideration might be given to the establishment of elected or appointed school boards to administer all primary and secondary schools in an area of the Region, with a local school commission for each school. As recommended in Volume 5 of the Parent Commission Report.

Denomination rights in education, at least to the extent that they now exist and are guaranteed in those parts of Ontario and Quebec to be included in the Region, would be preserved. The basic rights, responsibilities and prerogatives of parents and their role in the education of their children would be respected.

In the implementation of the wishes of parents it might be possible to provide several categories of schools: on linguistic lines, English-language, French-language and combined English-French-language; and on denominational lines, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and neutral.

It would be a primary responsibility of the school system to promote bilingualism and appreciation of the two cultures. A sound programme of French instruction would be provided in English-language schools and of English instruction in French-language schools.

Planning and Development:

A regional Council would be much more effective in planning and developing the services, parks and parkways, public lands and buildings and public works of the National Capital Region than the several municipal governments now established in two provincial jurisdictions.

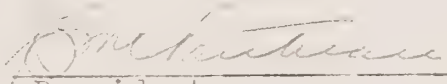
Conclusion and Recommendation:

There should be established a National Capital Region as a separate administrative unit, not forming part of any province.

A National Capital Region so constituted would lead to the development of a truly national capital to which all Canadians could look with pride, affection and loyalty. The existence of such a capital would be an important factor in furthering the cause of national unity.

Respectfully submitted,

Ottawa Newman Alumni Club


/ President.

Ottawa, May 27, 1966.

CA1 Z1

-63 B22

SUBMISSION

by

ONTARIO SCHOOL TRUSTEES' AND
RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION, INC.

CAI Z1

- 631322

S U B M I S S I O N

BY

ONTARIO SCHOOL TRUSTEES' & RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION

(Incorporated.)

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TO THE CHAIRMEN AND MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

THE ONTARIO SCHOOL TRUSTEES' & RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION (Incorporated) is the only Association in Ontario which is completely representative of municipal opinion in that it contains within its structure four sections, namely, The Urban (Elementary and Secondary) Section; The Rural and Township School Area Section; The Separate Schools Section; and The County and Municipal Councils Section.

The Association is a non-profit, service organization and has been an active factor and participant in educational thought and progress in Ontario for almost eighty years.

Additionally, the whole Association is a corporate member of the Ontario Educational Association which numbers among its members the teachers of the Province from the one-room rural school to the University, includes the provincial Inspectors of Ontario, and, as a corporate member also, the Ontario Federation of Home & School Associations.

Through its participation in the first Canadian Conference on Education in 1958, the Association began to interest itself in ways and means of establishing a closer relationship between the students of Ontario and those of Quebec. In 1962 at the second Canadian Conference on Education, the Association strongly supported the approach suggested by Dr. Wilder Penfield by which student exchange between the Provinces would be expanded to include the primary grades.

At its annual convention in Toronto during Easter Week 1964 the delegates unanimously supported a Resolution which went forward to the Ontario Department of Education, and which read as follows:-

"WHEREAS as this country approaches its one hundredth year as a federated nation it becomes increasingly evident that there is great need for closer mutual understanding between her French and English speaking populations; and

"WHEREAS to provide a favourable environment for this understanding to grow and flourish, an ever greater number of our citizens must strive toward true bilingualism; and

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
JOSEPH NEALE, ESQ.
OF THE BARR

LONDON:
Printed by J. NEALE, at the
PRINTING OFFICE, in Pall-mall.

1790.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

"WHEREAS it is generally recognised in the field of second language learning that reasonable proficiency is best attained in those situations where it is possible to place the student for extended periods in a complete second-language environment; and

"WHEREAS however salutary the present student exchange plans between the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario may be, such plans cover a period which is necessarily too short to provide maximum effectiveness:

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario be hereby petitioned, through the good offices of his Department and his Provincial Government, and in concert with the Government of the Province of Quebec, to institute a CENTENNIAL STUDENT WORK/STUDY EXCHANGE PROGRAMME; and that under this programme High School students in the respective provinces, having reached the age of sixteen and having demonstrated a sufficient degree of interest and proficiency in the second language would be afforded opportunities for full summer employment in the Province to be visited; and that such employment be of such a nature as to complement the academic programme undertaken by the student; and that remuneration for such employment provide for the full cost of the student's maintenance throughout the period of employment."

At the same Convention it was unanimously agreed that this Association should present a Brief to your Commission in order that there might be presented to you the considered opinion, objectively compiled, of a leading Ontario educational association.

Following the Convention, the Association sent representation to the meeting of the Empire Club of Canada at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, at which the guest speakers were the Chairmen of the Commission. Mimeographed copies of their addresses were sent to all officers and directors of the Association.

G E N E R A L.

From time to time in the House of Parliament at Ottawa and in Canadian newspapers, criticism has been expressed of the general procedure followed by the Commission - particularly with regard to regional and other meetings held or attended from coast to coast.

This Association desires to record its approval of the procedure followed. It knows of no other means by which the type of contact made and general information garnered could be so well made and garnered. It is appreciative of the tremendous contribution made in time and ability by the Chairmen and members of this Commission.

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G E N E R A L - Contd.

The Association supports the position taken by the Commission with regard to nation wide research covering the areas outlined by Mr. A. Davidson Dunton in his address to the Empire Club. It understands that this research has been carried out well and thoroughly; it does not, therefore, consider it necessary to contribute in this area.

TERMS OF REFERENCE.

The Association would question that part of the Commission's Terms of Reference which reads:-

"To recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution." It does so because the inference is plainly there that the contribution made by "other ethnic groups" has been cultural in nature only.

The Association suggests that the contribution made in and to the actual development of Canada as we know it to-day by early settlers from the continent of Europe cannot be classed as a contribution to culture only. It would believe that from their experience and from information obtained in the western provinces, the members of the Commission would support this suggestion.

The Association is of the opinion that if these words in the Terms of Reference applied to "other ethnic groups" which have arrived in Canada since the conclusion of World War Two, they would be completely appropriate. Canada of to-day is NOT the Canada of the last part of the nineteenth century. This would be brought home forcibly to you in the presentations made in the western provinces where only seven per cent of the population are French-Canadian in origin.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

In any consideration of the position of the people of the Province of Quebec in the total development of Canada, one must

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND - Contd.

of necessity consider the conditions under which the early French settlers came to this Continent. These are dealt with at length in Volume Two of the Canadian History Series edited by Thomas B. Costain, and we are familiar with them. The French Kings and their Ministers commanded the Governors of New France that they should never give "corporate form" to the settlers, that they should impress upon them firmly that they had no liberty as of right, but only such as might be derived from the gracious condescension of authority. "It is God's will that whoever is born a subject should not reason, but obey."

The position, then, of Quebec in Canada, and of the people of Quebec to the other peoples of Canada before and since Confederation, is surely one which must be considered with understanding and sympathy since, until recently, the circumstances of the government of the Province of Quebec would appear to relate in some degree to the acceptance of this earlier autocracy.

TO-DAY

It is well, then, that the Province of Quebec should begin to move more strongly into the stream of Canadian life and living, and more strongly, too, into the stream of Canadian business affairs.

It is commendable that under new leadership the educational administration of the schools of the Province has been placed in the hands of a Department of Education, with a most able Minister of Education. It should prove of national benefit to have the sons and daughters of Quebec begin to take their places beside those of other Provinces in professions other than Law and the Church. As an educational association, though, we acknowledge freely the great contribution made by the Universities of Quebec in the Humanities.

One would point to those of French descent who have moved from Quebec to other provinces, and to the considerable contribution which they have made to communities across Canada.

"EQUAL PARTNERSHIP"

The Association is concerned with the use of the term "equal partnership" which occurs again and again. It suggests that the implication that such a partnership is right and proper - or even feasible - could be considered the basic problem in the whole area of improved and closer relationships.

It agrees that such a partnership does not in fact exist at the present time. It questions that in a Dominion of ten provinces, regardless of foundation, language and contribution, one province justly could or should seek to wield the same power and influence in the government and affairs of the Dominion as do all nine of the remaining provinces.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The ability of English speaking Canadians to speak French and of French speaking Canadians to speak English has values which extend in this age of travel beyond the boundaries of our Dominion.

The Association recommends that, through the Departments of Education of the ten Provinces, increasing effort be made to interest the school boards of all Provinces in introducing the teaching of French or English in the elementary schools and at as early an age as possible.

(This may be more readily accomplished now since the Ministers of Education of all provinces meet regularly.)

It suggests that in the area of teacher provision there should be greater co-operation and fewer provincial restrictions to combat - restrictions which impede passage of teaching staff, where available, from one province to another.

In order to establish close reciprococity between basically English speaking and basically French speaking children in the provinces of the Dominion, the Association recommends that the project suggested in the 1964 Resolution set out on pages one and two of this Brief be given wide publicity in all provincial educational magazines owned and operated by trustees' and teachers' associations.

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It recommends, also, that, in order that the type of Work/Study Exchange Programme indicated have some possible degree of success, major Canadian Companies with branches in Quebec and other provinces be approached and invited to interest themselves in such a project; and that additionally the good offices of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association be sought.

The Association is of the opinion that the greatest advances in understanding and in improved relationships between and among the various provinces will be achieved through vastly improved means of communication and fraternization between and among the young people of all the provinces. It realises that to an extent there are interprovincial visits at the present time, and that with the Centennial Year in view these will increase, but it suggests that a great deal can be accomplished if the Work/Study Exchange plan were to operate on a continuing year-after-year basis.

Because of the general acute tension which has been displayed and is being displayed, the Association is conscious that other more immediate means of alleviation must be sought. It is conscious also that fuel to the flames is being added by officials in high places.

This is strongly to be deprecated. It should be possible for Prime Ministers and their Cabinets, for Premiers and theirs, for Leaders of the Oppositions and their advisers to take action to prevent further incendiarism from this area. The Association suggests that in times of emergency the common good must be the main consideration. It believes that the safeguarding of Confederation calls for the utmost in selfless negotiation that the spirit of 1864-67 may live again, and that the Dominion may go forward undivided.

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S U M M A R Y.

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- two. The Work/Study Exchange Resolution.
 Commendation of the Commission.
- three. The Commission's Terms of Reference.
 Historical Background.
- four. To-day.
- five. "Equal Partnership".
 Recommendations.

TITLE: Submission

AUTHOR: Ontario School Trustees' & Ratepayers' Association, Inc.

Brief of 6 pages; 6 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This brief presents carefully considered opinions; its attitude is moderate and practical.

The Ontario School Trustees' & Ratepayers' Association is described. Canada's basic problem is seen as that of "equal partnership" - whether or not such a partnership is right, proper, or even feasible. The Association expresses approval of the general procedure followed by the Commission, but questions strongly that part of its Terms of Reference which suggests that the contribution made by "other ethnic groups" to Canadian life is cultural only.

The Association aims to establish a closer relationship between students, especially between those of Ontario and Quebec. To that end, it makes a number of recommendations, notably for a Student Work/Study Exchange Programme to be instituted by the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. It also recommends the introduction of French or English language instruction at an early age in the elementary schools of all provinces.

ATT.: RESEARCH

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The Ontario School Trustees' & Ratepayers' Association contains four sections - The Urban (Elementary and Secondary) Section, the Rural and Township School Area Section, the Separate Schools Section, and the County and Municipal Councils Section. It is a corporate member of the Ontario Educational Association.

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QUESTIONS
TYPE REPORT
BUT WILL BE

A Brief
to
The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
from the
Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers
160 Bay Street, Toronto
Prepared by an
Ad Hoc Committee of the Association

3/15/65
1. COUNCIL OF CHAIRMAN
2. MUST BE IN 1845
WHICH WAS 1845
3. 1845 - COUNTY
WILLING TO THE
LEADING LASSER IS
PUSH BY 1845

NOT YET DIVIDED FULLY
- WILL BE - BRANCHES ONLY

Ottawa, April 30, 1965.

✓ EPSTON ONT BRANCHES TO
INFORMATION CENTER

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PART I

The Professional Association and its Interest in Bilingualism and Biculturalism

1. The Professional Association The Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers is a provincial affiliate of the Canadian Association of Social Workers (Association Canadienne des Travailleurs Sociaux). The O.A.P.S.W. was incorporated in 1964 and has a current membership of some 1100 members located throughout the province. Its eligibility regulations for membership, which are those of the national body, now require a Master of Social Work degree from a recognized professional School of Social Work. There are two graduate schools of social work within the province.
2. Ontario provides an opportune field for the study of bilingualism and biculturalism in the practice of social work. The eastern and northern territories of the province are significantly populated by peoples of both major cultures; altogether, Canadians of French ethnic origin constitute over 10 percent of the total in the province. Ontario, particularly in its central and northwest areas, is also populated by large numbers of people drawn from ethnic backgrounds other than English or French. Throughout the province, the seven largest ethnic groups, German, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Ukrainian, Scandinavian and Jewish, make up 20 percent of the total. Besides, Ottawa is the centre of national governmental organization, while both Ottawa and Toronto are major centres of national non-governmental organization.
3. Ontario's large and diverse social welfare system consists of both governmental and private agencies. Professional social workers in Ontario, employed in governmental and private agencies, serve residents of urban and rural areas. This work is financed by taxes or by donations obtained through independent and federated financial campaigns or both. From practice in a wide variety of social organizations, as noted below, has come a first-hand knowledge and experience of social problems of some relevance to the task of this Royal Commission.
4. Nature and Scope of the Profession The purposes of the social work profession are: firstly, the adjustment and development of individual persons and families toward more satisfying human relationships and self-fulfillment and, secondly, the improvement of the social

institutions within which they must live and function. Accordingly, its further purpose is the prevention of individual and social breakdown. As such, it is concerned, for all persons, with concrete opportunities for individual liberty, equality and dignity as well as with better family life, better education, improved economic and social conditions, comprehensive health care, and with harmonious relationships between ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious groups.

5. Social work practice rests on these fundamental principles:

Man must be viewed and understood in his total, unique personality, with his individual goals, his personal and cultural values, his particular developmental experience; he must also be seen in relation to the total and specific social context in which he functions and interacts with others;

Man must be respected in his individuality, and differences in persons, -- as in groups and communities, -- must be recognized, accepted and valued;

Helping efforts must start from an understanding and appreciation of how people view themselves and their problems, and of their readiness and capacity to work toward change; to be effective these efforts must look for and build upon those strengths and resources which exist in individuals, groups and communities, and seek to find and develop those external resources necessary for their support;

The helping task is primarily and ultimately concerned with enabling people to exercise constructively and gratifyingly, to the fullest possible extent, their right to determine the direction of their lives.

6. The importance of these principles pertains not only to direct services, but also to administration, policy and planning. They apply at all levels of organization, whether national (including federal-provincial), provincial or local, and include both governmental and voluntary organizations. Moreover, the social work profession in

Canada is intimately concerned with the interrelationships of all Canadian people, particularly between its two founding cultural groups, the French and the English, inasmuch as the profession in Canada has arisen out of both cultures and has been influenced and enriched by the values and expectations of both.

7. Fields of Social Work Practice Social workers usually specialize in one of three fields of practice: casework, group work, or community organization and development. Their practice is carried out with persons from all socio-economic classes in a wide range of social, economic, health (both physical and mental), educational, recreational, religious and ethnic settings.

1 - Caseworkers work in a wide variety of organizations which provide personal services to individuals and families. Examples of these are agencies for child welfare, family counselling, public assistance, probation services and hospital social services.

2 - Group workers conduct their practice with people in natural or constructed group situations having a therapeutic, recreational or educational aim. Examples of the agencies in which they work are community centres and institutional programs for the aging, children or mentally ill.

3 - Community organization and community development workers are involved in communities of all kinds and at all levels of social organization, whether local, provincial, or national. They assist in developing necessary community services and in fostering sound community life. Examples of organizations in which they are engaged are social planning agencies and community development programs for Indians and Metis.

8. No matter what the field of specialized practice, the fundamental skill of the social worker lies in the establishment of and the deliberate differential use of his relationship with the client or client-groups. He can do this effectively only to the degree that he both clearly understands and is able to interact and communicate with this client.

His services, which depend upon the communication of thoughts, attitudes, emotions and values that are a part of every day life, require facility in the client's accustomed language and an understanding of the cultural background and expectations of the person, group or community he serves. The social work profession also has to utilize forms of public information and education to all groups if it is to make its services known and to solicit support.

9. Social work, being committed to the common human needs of people, finds its opportunities to help them dictated by the actual circumstances of need wherever it exists. It comes into continuous contact with persons, groups, and communities whose needs are largely conditioned by their cultural and language characteristics. This brief, therefore, attempts to deal with these facts and to set forth the extent to which members of this profession in Ontario and the agencies which employ them are aware of and respond to these specific conditioning factors and therefrom to draw a number of conclusions and pose a number of recommendations for the consideration of this Royal Commission. These are based on the findings of a study of selected social agencies in Ontario carried out by an ad hoc committee of the O.A.P.S.W. A summary of this study now follows.

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PART II

Survey of Selected Social Agencies

on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

10. Purpose - The survey seeks to obtain essential factual data from selected key social agencies in Ontario on their policies, practices and problems relating to bilingualism and biculturalism. In accord with the Terms of Reference of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the situation of the various ethnic groups is also considered. The full survey report and the questionnaire used are included as Appendix "A" and Appendix "B".

11. Definitions

1) The terms "bilingual" or "bilingualism" have not been explicitly defined in the questionnaire. However, as the questionnaire uses the expressions, "primarily French-speaking", "fluent" in French and English, and again, "the range of languages in which your staff is fluent" these imply that the standard of bilingualism or multilingualism needs to be high enough to carry out a direct casework service in the French, English or any other language.

2) To be considered "significant", the French-speaking population of a community must represent at least 3 per cent of the total and at least 2,000 persons. The same standard is applied to communities having persons unable to speak English or French.

12. Organization of the Survey - Four of the five branches of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, which cover the larger populated areas of the Province of Ontario, have assisted in distributing the questionnaire to the selected agencies and in providing these agencies with any necessary interpretation to obtain their co-operation. The Executive Secretary, from the Association's head office in Toronto, has also expedited the questionnaire. In addition, the Study Committee has mailed questionnaires directly to 26 children's aid societies, as the basic multi-functional agencies, located in non-Branch areas.

13. Selection and Coverage - The questionnaire has been sent to selected children's aid societies, family service agencies and municipal welfare departments throughout the province. Although not representative of all types of social agencies (for example, corrections and recreation agencies are excluded), these three types of agencies do serve the largest clientele in providing child and family welfare services and financial aid to those in need.

14. Use of Census Data - The 1961 Census reports for Ontario cities of 15,000 and over population and for the Ontario counties on official language and mother tongue and ethnic origins have been used for the necessary background data in analysis of the individual questionnaires. Note has also been made of these characteristics of the population of the province as a whole.

15. Classification and Coding - The data have been classified and coded according to type of agency, type of community, and language characteristics. Certain other replies have also been coded on the basis of evaluative judgments, as explained in Appendix "A", in answer to three main queries; for each, the French language service is examined separately from services in languages other than English and French:

- 1) The adequacy of the non-English language services in relation to reported caseloads and to the language and ethnic characteristics of the community as a whole.
- 2) The use of languages other than English in agency administrative and personnel practices.
- 3) The scope of agency public relations with non-English-speaking groups in the community.

Summary and Conclusions

16. Representativeness and Validity of the Data from the Sample

- 1) Type of agency - The sample is fairly representative of the children's aid societies (31 of 55 counties) and of the family service agencies (9 of 21), but the number of municipal welfare departments surveyed (14) is considered too low to comprise a valid indicator for this group.

- 2) Type of community - Three of four agencies surveyed are located in centres of 15,000 persons or over population; one of four is located in towns of less than 15,000 persons or cover mainly rural counties. This corresponds roughly to the population distribution of the province of Ontario.
- 3) Language characteristics - the sample of agencies surveyed is distributed in communities fairly representative of the reported official languages of the province of Ontario.

Summary - The 57 social agencies which participated in the survey are fairly representative of the types of agencies, the urban-rural characteristics and language capabilities of the province as a whole. As well as the gaps in the sample as noted on p. 6 there is some risk of over-reliance upon questionnaire replies in attempting to understand problems of bilingualism and biculturalism. However, it has not been possible, except in three areas, to use the direct personal approach for observing and discussing these questions with the personnel concerned to complement the questionnaire data.

17. French Language Services

- 1) "Large" group of 13 agencies in 10 communities having French-speaking populations of over 5 percent

(i) Direct services to clients in relation to reported caseload

8 agencies or 61 percent rate "adequate"

1 agency or 8 percent rates "attempt to give service"

3 agencies or 23 percent rate "no attempt to give service"

1 agency or 8 percent not rated as no French-speaking caseload reported.

Of the 13 agencies reporting, all but one reported having a significant French-speaking caseload of over 5 percent. The majority are making a serious attempt to provide a French-language service.

There is little difference in the ratings of these agencies in relation to the assumed demand for service from the French-speaking members of their respective communities.

(ii) Languages spoken by staff

Of 11 agencies employing any bilingual staff, the average bilingual staff caseload ratio for caseworkers is .8; this ratio is derived by dividing the percentage of bilingual caseworkers on staff by the percentage of the caseload that is primarily French-speaking. This figure compares with the average staff caseload ratio of 1.06 for caseworkers using the English language (12 agencies). Bilingual supervisors are employed by 5 agencies, while unilingual English-speaking supervisors are employed by 8 agencies. The average bilingual administrative staff-caseload ratio is .67; for English-speaking administrative staff it is .99.

(iii) Case assignment

Of 12 agencies, 8 assign all French-speaking clients to French-speaking or bilingual workers; one agency assigns 40 percent likewise.

(iv) Administrative and personnel practices

7 agencies or 54 percent rate "bilingual"

2 agencies or 15 percent rate "attempt to be bilingual"

4 agencies or 31 percent rate "no attempt to be bilingual"

Of the 13 agencies reporting, about one-half are rated as bilingual in their administrative and personnel practices with few attempts at bilingualism by the remainder.

(v) Public relations

5 agencies or 38 percent rate "active"

3 agencies or 23 percent rate "attempt to communicate"

5 agencies or 38 percent rate "no attempt to communicate"

Of the 13 agencies reporting, the majority carry out public relations of varying scope with French-speaking groups in the community.

2) "Small" group of 10 agencies in 6 communities having French-speaking populations of 3 - 5 percent

(1) Direct services to clients in relation to reported caseloads

2 agencies or 20 percent rate "adequate"

3 agencies or 30 percent rate "attempt to give service"

2 agencies or 20 percent rate "no attempt to give service"

3 agencies or 30 percent not rated as French-speaking
caseload insignificant.

Of the 10 agencies reporting, 5 provide a French-language service of varying standards and 5 either do not experience requests for services in the French language or do not recognize the need. There is little difference in the ratings of these agencies in relation to the assumed demand for service from the French-speaking members of their respective communities.

(ii) Languages spoken by staff and case assignment

Although 4 of 10 agencies employ bilingual caseworkers only 2 agencies actually assign French-speaking clients to bilingual caseworkers. One agency employs a bilingual supervisor, while none employs bilingual staff at the administrative level.

(iii) Administrative and personnel practices

1 agency or 10 percent rates "bilingual"

2 agencies or 20 percent rate "attempt to be bilingual"

6 agencies or 60 percent rate "no attempt to be bilingual"

1 agency or 10 percent cannot be rated for lack of data.

Of the 10 agencies reporting, only 3 are rated as attempting to be bilingual in their administrative and personnel practices.

(iv) Public relations

1 agency or 10 percent rates "active"

2 agencies or 20 percent rate "attempt to communicate"

6 agencies or 60 percent rate "no attempt to communicate"

1 agency or 10 percent cannot be rated for lack of data.

Of the 10 agencies reporting, only 3 carry out public relations of varying scope with French-speaking groups in the community.

Summary - The 13 reporting agencies located in "large" French-speaking communities, the median being 40 percent French-speaking population, are much better organized to provide a French-language service than are the 10 agencies located in "small" communities having 3 - 5 percent French-speaking population. More than one-half of the agencies serving the "large" French-speaking communities are rated as "adequate", "bilingual" and "active" with respect to client services, administrative practices and public relations in the French language. However, it should be

noted that, compared to English-language services of the same types, the level of practice with respect to coverage, scope and consistency in serving both "large" and "small" French-speaking communities is found to be generally lower or at best uneven. Inasmuch as the criteria used in making these ratings are relative ones, the ratings cannot be construed as being definitive of the quality of the French-language services of the agencies studied. There must be, in fact, much variation in services if measured by the average caseload per worker among the 17 agencies considered to be providing a bilingual service.⁽¹⁾

18. Other Language Services (Non-English, Non-French) - Of 13 reporting agencies having 3 percent or more of their caseloads who primarily speak a language other than French or English or are located in communities with 3 percent or more of the population unable to speak either official language, only 4 agencies are rated as making an attempt to give service to ethnic groups in their own languages.

19. Adequacy of Range of Languages - Of 52 reporting agencies, 13 or 25 percent of the replies indicate that the range of languages in which their staffs are fluent is inadequate to cover the tongues spoken in their communities; 7 replies have reference to ethnic groups, while 6 refer to significant French-speaking populations.

Of the 3 agencies which report on language problems under "Remarks" 4 agencies are seeking to improve their bilingual services through use of educational materials in French to raise the performance standards of current staff by recruiting more bilingual staff and by increasing the proportion of French-speaking members on the boards of directors.

Only 3 agencies report under "Remarks" a specific concern about the adequacy of their services to clients who primarily speak such languages as Hungarian, Polish, Italian, Dutch and German. Two agencies are concerned about closer involvement with Indian Bands.

(1) Of the total of 23 coded questionnaires and 3 other agencies for which partial data supplied.

20. Other Agency Functions

1) Public Information - Of 44 reporting agencies, 18 or about 40 percent indicate that they carry out some public information activities to reach French-speaking and ethnic groups in their own language; only 3 bilingual agencies do so on a regular basis. Only 2 agencies use material in a language other than French or English.

2) Staff Development - Of 47 agencies reporting, 15 or about 30 percent indicate that they utilize individual supervision periods and staff meetings to broaden the knowledge of casework staff on cultural differences of significant minority groups in the community. Despite a specific question on the scope of cultural orientation, the replies do not supply much information on this subject.

3) Translation and Interpreter Facilities - Of 47 agencies reporting, 41 or 87 percent indicate they do not experience problems in translation or interpretation. Over one-half of these agencies see a need for occasional use of such facilities. Only 5 agencies specify problems in these areas such as the difficulty of obtaining interpreters who are familiar with the agency's services and the fear of a breach of confidentiality. One agency recommends the special training of interpreters for court work.

21. Conclusions

1) French-language services

(i) In the majority of agencies studied in "large" French-speaking communities the French language services are considered "adequate" on the whole. However, certain aspects of the administration of these agencies and the remaining agencies included in the survey do not compare in coverage and scope with their English-language services.

(ii) One-half of the agencies studied in "small" French-speaking communities make some attempt to provide a bilingual service, but their coverage and scope are well below the level of the bilingual agencies in "large" French-speaking communities.

(iii) The bilingual and bicultural characteristics of all agencies studied in communities having significant French-speaking populations are most evident at the point of direct services, are less developed at the administrative level and are least apparent in their public relations. One in 4 bilingual agencies recognizes a lack in their French-language services.

2) Services in other languages

(i) Few agencies located in communities having significant numbers of persons unable to speak English or French make an attempt to give service to ethnic groups in their own language or to publicize their services in the languages spoken.

(ii) Although the majority of agencies studied carry out some type of staff orientation to the cultures of significant ethnic groups within their jurisdictions, these educational efforts seem to be of limited scope.

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PART III

Recommendations

22. Premises - In applying those principles⁽¹⁾ intrinsic to social work practice to communities having significant minority groups whether French-speaking, English-speaking or speaking neither official language, the Association bases its recommendations on the following premises concerning desirable standards of social services and the responsibility for their provision.

1) To be most effective, a social service should be rendered in the client's accustomed language which may be his only language or the one in which he best communicates:

a. Services to persons whose accustomed language is French should be rendered in French and be of a comparable standard to the services available in English.

b. Services to persons whose accustomed language is neither English nor French should be rendered in the client's accustomed language and be of a comparable standard to English-language or French-language services, as the case may be, wherever possible. As a minimum service, interpreter and translation facilities should be available to members of any ethnic or native groups who have not become fluent in either official language.

2) Members of the Association have a professional responsibility to make known to their employing agencies and also to their respective communities the need for specific language services and for bridging cultural differences in order to provide appropriate services. Acting on behalf of its membership, the Association also has a responsibility to exert its influence amongst agencies at both Branch and Provincial levels.

3) The public authorities and boards of private agencies have administrative responsibility for recognition of the language needs and cultural differences with respect to the groups or areas to be served, for policy formulation, and for implementation of the required services.

(1) See para. 5 on p. 2.

From a professional standpoint, the obligation to provide an equitable service to all language or ethnic groups is the same whether the service be governmental or voluntary. With respect to the public welfare services, there is a particular responsibility that services be made available to all eligible persons regardless of language, race, creed or any other differences.

4) The profession and individual social workers should work toward the optimum use of services by all groups and toward the alleviation of inequalities to utilize services created through language or cultural difference, bias or indifference within the administrations offering service or within the community in which it exists.

23. Recommendations - In keeping with the wishes of the Royal Commission the O.A.P.S.W. has sought to make its recommendations concrete as well as to suggest appropriate ways to implement them. The O.A.P.S.W. recommends that:

Regarding the Provision of Services:

1) Social agencies in the province of Ontario, both official and voluntary, give realistic consideration to the language and cultural characteristics of the communities they serve by reference to the official Census reports on official language, mother tongues, and ethnic origins and to supplementary provincial and local sources of such data;

2) Social agencies in the province of Ontario, both official and voluntary, take the necessary steps to make comparable provision for French language services and services in other languages, when these are spoken by significant numbers in their respective communities, as for English language services. In Ontario, current interpretation of the Ontario Human Rights Code, 1961-62, regarding enquiries into a person's background can militate against such provisions; this situation needs to be clarified if adequate services are to be provided to persons coming from different cultural backgrounds and with language difficulties. In estimating the need for French-speaking or bilingual personnel and for staff with other language capabilities, regard should be had for staff caseload ratios, especially at the direct service level. Suggested

measures that social agencies should take to attain this standard are:

- a) Recruitment of qualified personnel with language capabilities suited to their community's ethnic composition;
- b) Education of suitable personnel through language training courses for selected staff in relation to the major languages represented in the agency's clientèle;
- c) Development of systematic programs of recruitment and training, with scholarship assistance, of persons from various ethnic groups for work in agencies serving their own groups;
- d) Provision of interpreter and translation services where staff with the required language capabilities cannot be recruited;
- e) Appointment to agency boards of directors of members representative of significant language and ethnic groups in the community. This proposal applies equally to advisory boards to public welfare agencies where these exist. In this way persons representative of significant minorities can be involved in the formulation of agency policies and practices;
- f) Distribution of copies of informational pamphlets descriptive of the agencies' services and of the relevant statutory provisions, where applicable, in French and other necessary languages to inform persons of the social provisions available to them and to prevent discrimination.

3) Social planning and welfare councils, because of their overall concern for community welfare services as well as for the development of sound inter-group community relations, undertake

- a) to study locally the situation outlined in this brief, and
- b) to encourage and stimulate local agencies, both public and private, to act on these proposals to improve services to all significant language groups.

Regarding the Training of Professional Personnel

4) Inasmuch as cultural sensitivity and awareness are best begun in training prior to practice, schools of social work should assess their

curricula in this regard. Their curricula might well be strengthened in several ways:

- a) by the inclusion of more knowledge on the role of culture in human development, on the problems of inter-cultural relationships, and on the role of language;
- b) by the development of case histories illustrating and emphasizing the "cultural content" of human situations;
- c) by the inclusion in the student's supervised caseload of persons or groups of cultural backgrounds different from that of the student.

5) This sensitivity can be developed more specifically and more deeply on the job. To accomplish this agencies, both public and private, should include information on significant minority groups in the community as part of the orientation given to any newly employed social worker.

24. Costs

1) The O.A.P.S.W. believes that the costs of implementing French-language services in the 29 communities in Ontario which have significant French-speaking populations should not, on the whole, be high. If there were no French-language services anywhere in the province, one might estimate an overall increase in welfare costs of 10 percent. Inasmuch as there are French-language services of varying standards in most of these communities it is estimated that the total increase in costs required to bring the French-language services on a par with the English-language services would not be great. However, in so far as individual agencies are concerned, especially those serving the "large" French-speaking communities, a number would need to make substantial increases in their budgets. This fact should not be prohibitive, but rather the costs of welfare services as for health or education, should be regarded as a vital part of the public service which should apply equitably to the entire population. It is estimated that the cost of improving services to persons speaking neither official language would be considerably less.

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2) With respect to the public welfare services, it is to be noted that under the proposed Canada Assistance Plan the federal government is offering to share the costs of administration. Should this federal sharing proposal be accepted, as seems likely, it is to be expected that it will help to raise the level of provincial welfare staffs both as to numbers and qualifications; it should also lighten the provincial and municipal share of welfare administration costs.

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPER

Brief No. 750-553

Ontario Association of
Professional Social
Workers.

OTTAWA

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

Incorporated 1964. It has a current membership of 1,100 members located throughout the province. Member must have a Master of Social Work degree from a recognized professional School of Social Work. There are two graduate schools of social work in the province.

The Ontario Association is a provincial affiliate of the Canadian Association of Social Workers and is the legal spokesman for professional social workers in Ontario.

2. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

Based on the findings of a study of selected social agencies in Ontario carried out by an ad hoc committee of the OAPSW. (Questionnaire was sent to selected agencies)

B. QUESTIONNAIRE OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

page 2
para. 4

As an organization are you aware of any needs for the greater constitutional protection of individual liberty equality and dignity?

page 2
para. 5

Does this mean that social workers do not try to (a) assimilate or (b) integrate members of other cultures to the dominant culture?

page 3
para. 6

Explain, please, how "the profession in Canada has arisen out of both cultures and has been influenced and enriched by the values and expectations of both"

page 5
para. 10

We are interested in why your survey took this particular form. There were many other aspects of the question you might have studied (i.e. tensions between community groups etc.)

page 8
para. 1 ii

Would you explain "staff caseload ratio" in more concrete terms.

page 7
para. 17

Did you have any opportunity to investigate the exact meaning your respondents placed on terms such as "bilingual", "adequate", "attempt to give service"? i.e. did you do any spot checking by interviews or case studies?

page 11
para. 21

Your conclusions show a great discrepancy between your standards and reality. Is this what you expected or were you shocked?

How do you explain this state of affairs? Do you know of attempts that have been made in the past to improve this situation? With what success?

page 13
para. 22

Who accepts your premises
a) Schools of social work?
b) Agencies?
c) All social workers?

page 13
para. 22 (2)

Has your brief been circulated to all your membership? What response has arisen from this "professional responsibility to make known" section? Has any action been taken by any members or by the Association?

page 14
para. 23 (1)

What do you imply by "realistic"?

(2)

How does the Human Rights Code mitigate against making comparable provision for services to other than English language individuals? In other words, does the H.R.C. lead to discriminatory treatment?

How should this be charged?

page 15
(2) a - f

Do you wish to comment on or give priority to any of these measures? Do you feel they are all practical?

What encouragement or compulsion could be administered to achieve these results?

page 15
(3)

Has the Ontario Welfare Council a role here to get this section implemented - or whose responsibility is it?

page 16
(4)

Are there examples of pilot projects or good practice in cultural sensitivity training which can be recommended?

Why are Schools of Social Work not doing a better job in this regard?

Who, besides you, should evaluate their work and encourage them to improve?

page 16

(5)

On the job training.

You may be right that sensitivity can be developed more deeply on the job. But surely much more than orientation information is necessary to accomplish this!

Exactly how do you create cultural sensitivity - or - what are the pre-requisites for it to come about?

You place considerable emphasis on this but your recommendations do not seem strong enough to bring about much change. If this were recognized as really basic and important, what more drastic or radical measures could be taken?

page 17

(2)

Does the Canada Assistance Plan have any special features in it to give special grants, aid or assistance in order to encourage bi-lingualism, service in the language of the client, or any of the points you have made that need strengthening?

Would such encouragement work?
Would it be acceptable?

What action is needed on (a) the federal level (b) the provincial level to stimulate change?

September 30, 1965.

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146A

A BRIEF TO THE SECRETARIES,
ROYAL COMMISSION ON MONUMENTALISM
AND SICILIANISM

IN HONOUR AND SECRETARIES
COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUÊTE SUR
LE MONUMENTALISME ET LE SICILIANISME

P. O. Box / C. P. 1403
OTTAWA CANADA

Submitted by: THE NILMAN ALBANI OF MANITOBA
September 7, 1961

Representative for Brief:
Ronald P. Bruce,
739 Knox Street,
ST. CHARLES, Manitoba.

INTRODUCTION TO SUBJECT:

1. The biculturalism discussed here is not directly related to bilingualism, although there is an historical conjunction.
2. A key factor in cultural formation is the educational philosophy of an individual or group.
3. Where two different educational philosophies exist side by side a bicultural formation can take place peacefully, but if suppressive measures of either a direct or indirect kind are placed on either culture then the basis for a bicultural imbalance is begun.
4. Such is the viewpoint of biculturalism taken in this brief which considers the bicultural imbalance which has evolved in public education in British Columbia and Manitoba.

SUBJECT:

5. A Constitutional Shortcoming in British Columbia and Manitoba: Public Education is Socialized to an Incomplete Degree.

SITUATION:

6. A foundation stone of democracy in Canada has been the co-operation of intellectually divided people in practical matters. Where there have been opposing theoretical values the common denominator sought has usually been respect for freedom of conscience. This is high amongst our freedom
7. Freedom of conscience in education is real only if this freedom allows practical notions concomitantly with theoretical notions.
8. The theoretical notions of education held by an individual or group are expressions of an educational philosophy. In our society, there are basically two cultural commitments:

DEFINITION (Continued):

8. (a) an educational philosophy based on a secular viewpoint.
- (b) an educational philosophy which springs from a religious viewpoint.

The practical notions of education held by individuals or groups are accomplished by the organization of school centres which are based on the educational philosophy held by the individual. The schools of the public choice are basically two:

- (a) Schools related to the state exclusively.
- (b) Schools related to both state and church.

9. The provincial governments of Manitoba and British Columbia hold the constitutional deposit of trust in educational matters in these respective provinces as with all Canadian provinces.

10. Manitoba entered into the spirit of Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867 constitutionally by Section 22 of the Manitoba Act of 1870. The Public Schools Act of 1890, however, impeded the exercise of constitutional rights of some of its citizens and rejected the spirit of Confederation in educational matters by compelling taxation from all taxpayers - for the support of newly socialized state related schools based on the secular educational philosophy to the exclusion of existing church-and-state related school support.

11. British Columbia entered confederation 1871 constitutionally bound by the minority protections of Section 93 of the B. N. A. Act of 1867. In 1872, this province legislated in favor of state related schools based exclusively on the secular educational philosophy yet excluded all schools which by philosophy are both church-and-state related.

SITUATION (Continued):

12. History had turned its back in British Columbia and Manitoba on the magnificent contribution of church-and-state related schools for the common good of the people of these provinces.

13. In both cases the effect is to deny the benefits of broadly socialized financial support through taxation to those who have, by their own initiative, organized state-and-church related schools.

14. In effect these governments have made a cultural commitment by socialized financial support of only one of its cultural parts viz. - those who are committed to the propagation of a secular viewpoint in education.

15. Secularists have constitutional rights in education but so do Religionists.

16. Any legislation which does not equally recognize through socialized financial means, that portion of the state-and-church related school which is "state related", fails in simple fairness. It fails the spirit of the B. N. A. Act; it fails the spirit of the U. N. Charter; it fails the spirit of the Canadian Bill of Rights. Of its citizens it fails especially those of moderate means and the poor who find "double educational taxation" an intolerable load. Educational freedom is not just for the rich if it has any meaning at all.

17. Lastly it fails all the citizens of British Columbia and Manitoba, who understanding the facts, only want to be fair to their neighbor.

OBJECTIVE:

18. The increased socialization of public education in British Columbia and Manitoba.

SOLUTION.

19. It is requested that the federal government approach the provincial governments in an updated spirit of Confederation to begin or renew, as the case may be in the respective provinces, a dialogue which seeks to extend the benefits of socialized educational taxation to all schools of the public and democratic choice by establishment of a single public school system with two subsidiary parts:

(A) state related schools

(B) state-and-church related schools

- with necessary financial control which:

(a) establishes an efficient standard unit cost per pupil

which sum is to be distributed for the support of each student - whether his parents choose 1) a state related school or

2) a state-and-church related school.

(e.g. if \$300.00 is a realistic standard cost per pupil per annum then a "pupil attendance month" would be 1/10 of the 10-month school year, or \$30.00 per month per pupil payable to the particular school of attendance.)

(b) maintains a cost balance between the intellectual and material needs of the student.

(c) creates incentives for a managed control of school costs which are more directly relatable to the "shareholder" taxpayer.

CONCLUSION:

20. It is maintained that if the government enters the educational field and, in turn, compels educational taxation, then the common good can only be fulfilled by extension of the benefits of this tax to all children.

21. It is a most serious error on the part of a government to assume that a Secular educational philosophy is "neutral" or that it could be the conscientious choice of all the public.

CONCLUSION (Continued):

22. A Secular educational philosophy is a sectarian point of view honestly subscribed to by some. To impose this viewpoint on all by the indirect means of financial coercion is to proselytize in a most undemocratic manner.

23. We appeal to the understanding of all citizens and the government in this most serious and urgent matter.

FRÉQUENT DES CONCLUSIONS ET RECOMMANDATIONS:

S.1 La liberté d'enseignement en éducation exige qu'on ait les moyens pratiques d'accomplir sa mission théorique. La taxation scolaire est le moyen socio-financier d'atteindre pratiquement cette fin. Quand deux philosophies divergentes en matière d'éducation, toutes deux basées sur des convictions honnêtes, existent à un degré important, il s'ensuit que la taxation proportionnelle avec une distribution équitable des fonds publics est le moyen le plus pratique d'assurer la liberté en éducation.

S.2 Les populations de la Colombie Britannique et du Manitoba auront intérêt à augmenter la socialisation de l'éducation en organisant un système unique d'écoles publiques ayant deux parties subsidiaires:

des écoles reliées à l'Etat

des écoles reliées à l'Eglise et à l'Etat.

S.3 Nous demandons que s'amorce un dialogue entre le Gouvernement fédéral et les Gouvernements provinciaux de la Colombie Britannique et du Manitoba, cherchant à restaurer les garanties constitutionnelles de liberté des minorités en matière d'éducation dans ces deux provinces, et en particulier que les taxes scolaires soient équitables et subordonnées à la liberté en éducation.

IMPORTANT DE CONCLURE LES RECOMMANDATIONS:

S.1 Bicultural education freedom requires the practical means to carry out its theoretical mission. Educational taxation is the practical socio-financial instrument to accomplish this. Where two divergent but conscientiously held educational philosophies exist in significant measure, then it follows that proportionate taxation with proportionate benefit is the most practical means to serve educational freedom.

S.2 It is in the best interests of the people of British Columbia and Manitoba to increase the socialization of public education by organization of a single public school system with two subsidiary parts:

state related schools

church-and-state related schools.

S.3 Dialogue is requested between the Federal and Provincial governments of British Columbia and Manitoba seeking an updating of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of minorities in education in British Columbia and Manitoba; and specifically that educational taxes be equitable and subordinate to educational freedom.

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A BRIEF TO THE SECRETARIES,
ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM
AND BICULTURALISM

UN MÉMOIRE AUX SECRÉTAIRES
COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUÊTE SUR
LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

P. O. Box / C.P. 1508
OTTAWA CANADA
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Submitted by:

THE NEWMAN ALUMNI OF MANITOBA

Original: September 7, 1964

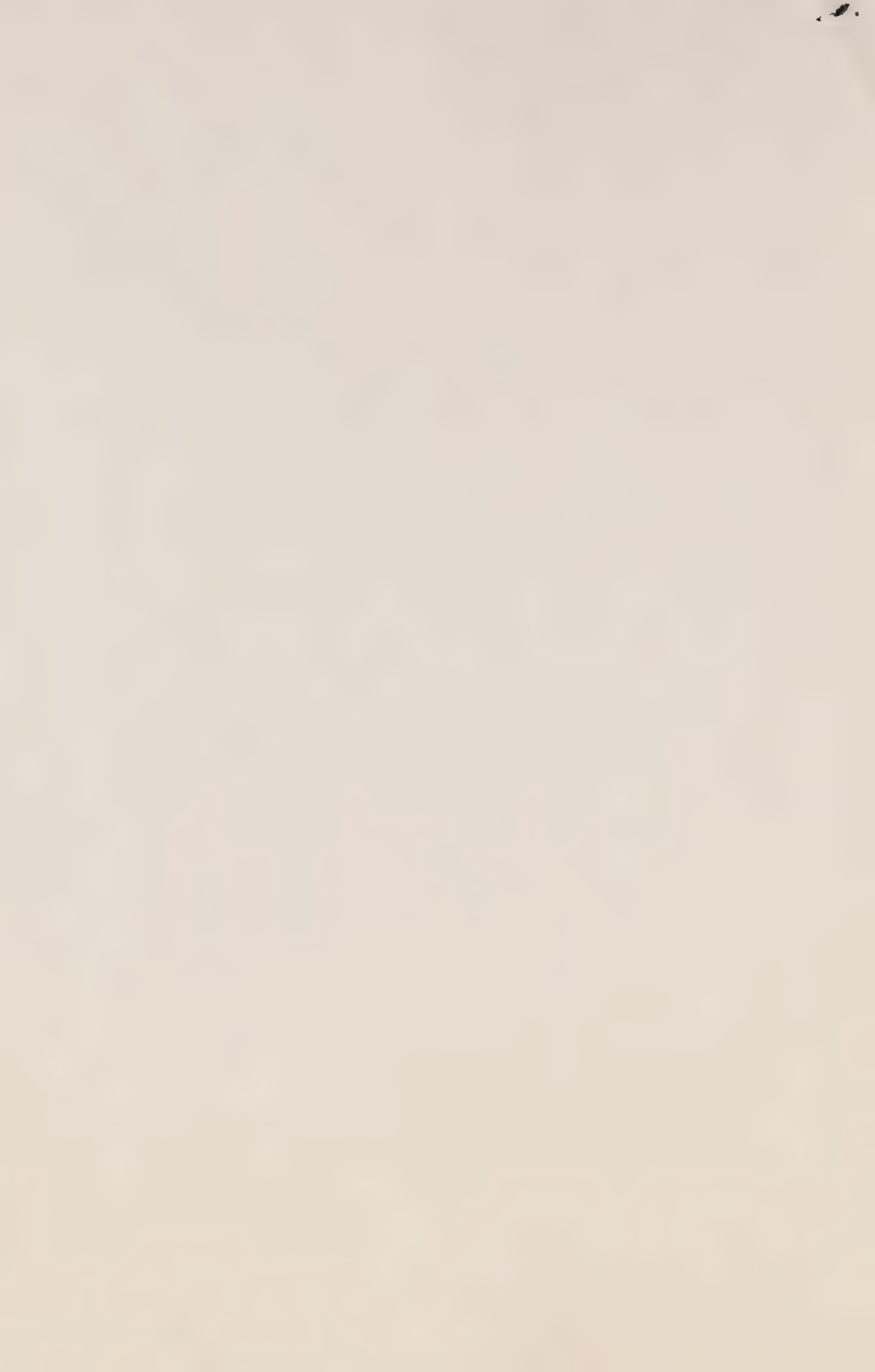
Revised: September 6, 1965

ENDORSEMENT:

The Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs
(C.F.N.C.), at their annual convention
September 3-5, 1965, in Fredericton New
Brunswick, endorsed the principles expressed
in this brief. The Federation comprises
Newman Clubs and Alumnis from Universities
in the ten provinces in Canada.

Representative for Brief:

Ronald P. Bruce,
739 Knox Street,
St. Charles, Manitoba.



*(What is the purpose of this - attempt to be -
happy and uplifted - must follow)*

PREAMBLE:

1. A foundation stone of democracy in Canada has been the co-operation of intellectually divided people in practical matters. Where there have been opposing theoretical values the common denominator sought has usually been respect for freedom of mind and conscience. These are high amongst our freedoms.

2. Freedom of mind and conscience in education is real only if this freedom allows practical notions concomitantly with theoretical notions.

3. Where different cultures exist side by side a bicultural firmation can take place peacefully, but if suppressive measures of either a direct or indirect kind are placed on a culture then the basis for a bicultural imbalance is begun.

SUBJECT:

4. Equitable Educational Taxation of Minorities - a Factor in the Harmony and Preservation of Bilingual, Bicultural and Ethnic Values in Education in Canada.

CULTURE DEFINED:

5. Culture as used in the sociological sense and as it must appropriately be used for purposes of the Commission's study is defined as - all the knowledge beliefs, customs - the way of life of a people.

REFERENCES:

6. An appendix gives sources definition and expansion of certain paragraphs numbered throughout the brief.

CULTURAL CONCOMITANTS IN EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM:

7. We submit that if practical recommendations are to be made in elementary and secondary education, the following personal and social factors and their concomitant (hand in hand) relationship to educational freedom must be examined:

- (1) The School Situation
- (2) Languages of Instruction
- (3) Educational Philosophy
- (4) The Educational Taxation Situation.

8. Whether Canadians speak French, English, (or bilingually) or bilingually with another ethnic language; whether their educational philosophy is Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or Secularist it is of extreme importance to remember that we Canadians are in fact these things in person. In order to give maximum freedom to the individual it is also important to give balance to the realities affecting our lives without exaggeration or oversimplification. We hope to contribute in a small way to this dialogue.

THE SCHOOL SITUATION:

9. The theoretical notions of education held by an individual or group are expressions of an educational philosophy and the mind-language is its instrument of communication.

10. The practical notions of education held by individuals or groups are accomplished by the organization of school centres which are based on the educational philosophy and language held by an individual or group.

11. There are four institutions involved in education:

CHURCH	✓
STATE	✓
HOME	✓
SCHOOL	✓

12. The relationship of these four institutions is important in a given child (parents) for the child is first a member of the family, the basic unit of society, by language and mind a member of an ethnic culture, a member of a church (or not), a citizen of the state and a student of a school which forms in some cases a relationship of church-state-home, and in others a state-home relationship.

13. Exercise of the initiative and prior right of parents to choose conscientiously the type of education they desire for their children has resulted basically in two types of socialization in the organization of schools of the public choice: church-and-state related schools, state-related schools, organized regionally on a language basis, also, where there have been sufficient parents to support such an organization of schools.

14. Church-and-state related public schools, are organized historically and traditionally along denominational lines at the initiative of parents through a co-operation of church and state. Through this co-operation, the state, as we know it today, usually implements the secular academic standards desired, and collects taxes from the parents of the various denominations for the support of these schools. The church through co-operation with the state maintains the religious, moral and metaphysical viewpoint of the particular denomination in the school. Denominational schools were the earliest types of schools organized in Canada.

15. State-related public schools are organized at the initiative of parents along mixed or multidenominational lines. These schools are related exclusively to the state, and the state in turn implements the secular academic standard and collects taxes for the support of these schools.

LANGUAGE SITUATION:

16. The two deepest streams of cultural formation of language and mind, in Canada, form a bilingual and bicultural relationship between the French and English speaking peoples of Canada.

17. There are also tributary bilingual and bicultural relationships, in the context of the whole, between these two deepest languages and cultures, and the languages and cultures of other ethnic groups in Canada.

18. In Canada there are many schools instructing in either French or English, and bilingually in some cases; to a small extent there are schools which instruct bilingually in French or English and another ethnic language. In the

latter case there is usually a cultural relationship between the language and religion of the particular group. For example, Jewish denominational schools give partial instruction in Hebrew, and Ukrainian denominational schools give partial instruction in Ukrainian.

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES:

19. The existence of diverse educational philosophies concerning the place of religious and moral instruction in the school has resulted in basically two choices in schools: Denominational public schools and Multi-Denominational public schools.

20. In our view the metaphysical viewpoint (ultimate view of Truth, God, His Moral Law, Revelation, Life, etc.) penetrates and permeates the secular subjects of education. We believe the technical dimension of secular education is neutral but not the concomitant philosophical, religious, moral and psychological values which arrange themselves daily into the personal value system of a child's life - thus our conscientious choice for a denominational school.

21. Other citizens choose multi-denominational schools which by the logic of their intention to teach children from different home cultures and to teach them the same things in the same way, can say little, if anything, about God, His moral law or His revealed Truth.

THE EDUCATIONAL TAX SITUATION:

22. The provincial governments hold the constitutional deposit of trust in education subject to minority rights in education protected by the Federal government.

23. Minority rights were pluralistic in their historical context in Upper and Lower Canada both in educational philosophy and language. The historical adoption and implementation of these rights by the other provinces in Canada has been varied and has resulted in distributive inequities in educational taxation in some of these provinces for parents supporting minority schools. These particular schools are denominational and some are bilingual in the language of instruction.

24. We have made an overview study and survey of the educational tax equity for parents in the provinces of Canada. An attempt is made to show the disposition of tax equity as it affects minorities in both the educational philosophy factor and language of instruction factor in the various provinces but we were unable to obtain definitive statistics in all cases.

25. NEWFOUNDLAND'S school system is completely denominational with a high degree of educational tax equity for all. The language of instruction is English in all schools.

26. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND'S school system is public with some of these schools having a denominational character. English is the language of instruction in all schools except in Evangeline school district and a few schools elsewhere in the province where instruction is given in both French and English. There is a high degree of educational tax equity for all public schools.

27. NOVA SCOTIA'S school system is public with some of these schools having a denominational character. The public school system has a number of schools where French (3.8% of the school population) is the beginning language of instruction. Relative to .8% of the population which speaks French only and 11.9% of the population which is of French origin there would appear to be a fair preservation of the French language. There is a high degree of educational tax equity for all public schools. There are a number of private schools (3.1% of the school population) which are not tax supported but which receive text books.

28. NEW BRUNSWICK'S school system is public with some of these schools having a denominational character. Of these schools 40% give instruction in French which is on par with the population of French ethnic origin indicating a healthy maintenance of the French language. All public schools receive a high degree of educational tax equity. There are a number of private schools (1.6% of the school population) which do not receive tax support.

29. QUEBEC'S school system has a high degree of the equity for all Schools French, English, and other Ethnic groups and denominationally. According to Schmeiser (Civil Liberties in Canada, Page 148) -

"only the Province of Quebec, which has a minority problem of language as well as religion, has achieved the distribution of an educational system which is completely acceptable to all minorities. An article written in MacLean's magazine in 1955 stated that only Quebec gave its separate schools a fair share of the school taxes and continued: 'In Quebec where 9 out of 10 people are Roman Catholics and 8 out of 10 speak French, there is ~~an equality and full equality~~. Dr. James Paton, Secretary of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, says: 'We're well treated here. We get our full share of tax money; the Catholics go out of their way to be fair and even generous to us. We're only embarrassed because the Roman Catholic schools in other provinces don't get the same break.' Among English speaking provinces only Alberta and Saskatchewan come anywhere near giving Roman Catholic schools the treatment that Protestant schools get in Quebec."

30. Private schools in Quebec (6.8% of total school population), most of which are operated by various orders of the Roman Catholic Church, are supported by fees, but under legislation, parents who send their children to private schools are reimbursed for at least part of the fees charged.

31. Considerable administrative and organizational updating is taking place today in the educational system in Quebec.

32. ONTARIO'S school system provides a high degree of tax equity for all public schools. Separate elementary schools receive a high degree of tax equity. Earlier inequities in the distribution of corporation education taxes to elementary separate schools are now equalized. The common separate schools frequently provide instruction up to Grade 10, and receive legislative grants for that purpose, but are entitled to the school taxes of their supporters only to the Grade 8 level.

33. According to Schmeiser (Civil Liberties in Canada, Page 143) -

"In 1912 and 1913, the Department of Education, acting under its regulatory power granted by Section 119, subsect. 4, of the Common Schools Act, and Section 26, of the Separate Schools Act, issued a 'Circular of Instructions' which virtually abolished the use of French as a means of instruction in the schools (both public and separate)."

34. Ontario's French population would appear to be at a distinct disadvantage in giving French instruction in either the public or separate schools of the province, however, we understand that some French instruction is given in some elementary schools.

35. There are a number of Jewish denominational schools which are not tax supported.

36. MANITOBA'S school system provides a high degree of educational tax equity to the public schools. Instruction is given in English in all public-operated schools although in some areas some instruction is given in French (about 5% of the total school population). These areas are predominantly French speaking and Roman Catholic (the Public Schools Act provides for religious teaching in separate classrooms along denominational lines but the Act is not clear whether this extends to other than Christian denominations). No Manitoba Public Schools are authorized to give instruction in any other language.

37. Between 1870 and 1890 denominational school supporters (Anglican, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian) had a high degree of educational tax equity for their respective schools but this was removed by the Public School Act of 1890. Today, there are a variety of denominational schools (Catholic, Protestant and Jewish). Bilingual instruction is given in some of these schools in English and French (.3%+ of the total school population) in predominantly English speaking areas; and in some others (with English) in Ukrainian and Hebrew.

38. The supporters of these schools had, until 1965, no equity in the distribution of the educational tax. Legislation has been passed in 1965 providing a tax equity equivalent of about \$10. per student for text books; other provisions are permissive use of transportation, and a form of shared services which at this date has yet to be proclaimed. Manitoba has 5.2% of its school population in private or denominational schools.

39. SASKATCHEWAN'S school system provides a high degree of tax equity for public and separate schools. (Equitable taxation distribution was extended to secondary separate schools in 1964). There are no tax-supported schools in the Province which give instruction in French, and we have no knowledge of whether there are any private schools giving French instruction.

40. ALBERTA'S school system provided a high degree of tax equity for public and separate schools. There is provision in the school act of Alberta that directs that French may be used as a Language of Instruction, in addition to the English language in primary schools. There are three Jewish denominational schools which are not tax supported.

41. BRITISH COLUMBIA'S school system provides a high degree of tax equity for public schools. English is the language of instruction in all public schools at this time. Denominational school supporters receive only a low degree of tax equity through text books. There are at least three schools giving instruction bilingually in French and English which are also denominational. There are Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denominational schools and one Chinese denominational school.

A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATIONAL TAXATION:

42. Citizens pay many taxes today: personal income taxes, federal and provincial sales taxes, municipal taxes, excise taxes, etc., - in all, these taxes represent a sizeable portion of the citizen's earnings. Today also, there is by these taxes, an increasing welfare socialization relative to earlier times. Education taxes account for example in excess of 6% of the earnings of the taxpayers in Canada. This is a major tax to parents. It also follows, though by habit we use the term loosely, that education is not free in any real sense of the word.

43. It is imperative, therefore, that educational taxation - like all taxation - be based on sound principles of justice and equity - sound principles of contributive and distributive justice for all citizens based on the parents prior right to freely and conscientiously choose the type of education they desire for their children. In the final analysis is not the tribute from the parents intended for their children? Is not money a medium of exchange? Is not justice the fulcrum for this exchange?

44. Essentially educational taxes provide a government-sponsored financial plan for parents to give their children an education. These taxes provide a time-payment schedule (not unlike the family budget account or mortgage) whereby the cost of education is spread over the life time of a taxpayer (a taxpayer paying \$300. per year in educational taxation will pay \$15,000. in 50 years) and is paid simultaneously by the adult generations of each family.

45. In a certain sense we pay for our own education on a deferred basis depending on the projection of the costs of education from generation unto generation.

46. If educational taxes are not distributed equitably there is created a socio-financial imbalance for those parents who find "double educational taxation" an intolerable burden. Such an imbalance fails especially parents of moderate means and the poor. Educational freedom is not just for the rich if it has any meaning at all.

47. "Double-education taxation" is a gross understatement when parents are on the one hand compelled to pay taxes to schools not of their choice, and on the other making additional direct payments in an accelerated and concentrated form to schools which are of their conscientious choice and organized by their initiative.

48. The following sketch dramatizes the two classes of citizenship which the average Canadian family of four can have.

"Mr. and Mrs. Average Canadian parents with two children earns \$4340. per year and pays (2 x \$320. x 12 years of schooling) \$7680. for the schooling of their children which is paid in time payments of \$260. per year (6% of earnings) over a period of about 30+ years. Mr. and Mrs. Other Average Canadian parents with two children in addition to paying \$260. per year over a period of 30+ years pays (2 x \$320.) \$640. per year for 12 years for their two children in order to send them to a school of their prior and conscientious choice if they happen to live in certain parts of Canada."

49. Consider the family with more than two children and how this intolerable burden denies these families freedom of mind and conscience in education.

50. Surely the right of government to compel educational taxes for the common good is not divorced from the right of parents to conscientious and democratic freedom of choice in education!

51. Such a dichotomy of government and parental rights is a gross distortion of citizens' rights.

52. We are needful and grateful for taxation for it does for us through financial socialization what we cannot otherwise do as an individual.

53. OBJECTIVE - The increased financial socialization of public education to provide maximum parental freedom of choice - consistent with goals to provide harmony and preservation of bilingual, bicultural and other ethnic values in the pluralistic society which exists in Canada today.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

54. (1) Recognizing that the Constitutional rights in education are entrusted to the Provinces subject to minority rights protected by Federal enactments, we recommend that these rights be updated in the light of the cultural pluralism existing in Canada today.

55. Article 1 of Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act states (related acts are similar):

"Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational schools which any class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union."

56. We submit that where parents must support, in any province, both public multi-denominational and public denominational schools, then they are subjected to a compounding financial taxation burden which has increased in gradual degrees to an extent which today cannot but prejudicially affect their parental right to freely and conscientiously choose the type of education they desire for their children.

57. Is the Law so divorced from human considerations that those provinces, which have educational tax inequities, fail to recognize the degree of inequity which now exists?

58. Historically denominational schools were financed by a denominational financial socialization imposed by the parents themselves prior to the state financial socialization in education.

59. There is a vast difference between an historic tax of \$5. per student in the 1870's and \$320. + per student in 1965. In the days of confederation we didn't have personal income tax, federal and provincial sales taxes let alone the degree of welfare state taxation which exists today. School taxes were amongst the first kind of welfare state taxes. This early form of social taxation stands in need of refinement and adjustment to provide equitable treatment for all citizens.

60. Increased taxation was inevitable, it is good when it serves the common good, and it was especially inevitable that the burden of educational taxation should increase as the range and standard of education increased.

61. We submit that no group of citizens should be compelled rightly to contribute taxation and in turn be denied the benefits of such taxation independent of their right to freedom of mind, conscience and religion.

62. Administration of educational taxation is primarily an accounting function and such function should be the servant of educational freedom not its master.

63. (2) We recommend that the French peoples of Canada be guaranteed freedom of mind and conscience concomitantly with their share of educational taxes in education, in the various provinces in Canada where inequities exist. It is the French -speaking peoples of Canada who wish to preserve their mind-language and culture. They force it upon no one. Let the English-speaking Provinces which have inequities in educational taxation treat the French minorities as Quebec treats her minorities.

64. (3) We recommend that the Other Ethnic groups who have by their initiative organized schools for the preservation of their ancient tongues and religions be treated equitably in educational taxation. These schools also are bilingual in as much as they instruct in their ancient tongue and also the mainstream of language where they are located. Why should anyone fear the good of these languages and religions?

65. (4) We recommend that there be dialogue in Canada on the importance in the school of freedom of religious instruction, moral instruction and the metaphysical viewpoint which springs therefrom.

66. We defend your right to choose for your children; we defend our right to choose for our children.

67. (5) We submit that freedom of choice of diverse educational philosophies and languages is not the imagined obstacle to practical organization of schools and least of all the administrative organization of tax distribution.

68. Parental initiative in education should be encouraged rather than obstructed.

69. There in fact exists in Canada today basically two subsidiary schools of the public choice:

state related schools (public multi-denominational)

church-and-state related schools (public denominational).

70. We propose that an affiliation of all minority schools in provinces where educational tax inequities exist, would facilitate the practical distribution of educational taxes on a principle of self-support through taxation. Bilingual freedom is an important link in such an affiliation.

71. The equitable support of majority-choice schools does not require also the tax support of parents who use minority schools.

72. Conversely a principle of self-support through taxation automatically makes prohibitive the disorderly establishment of minority schools. This could be obtained by distribution of the educational taxes of supporters of minority schools on a standard-cost-per-pupil basis. Thus if the distribution of a standard amount of taxation is insufficient for the support of a particular minority school then additional direct subsidization of the particular school would be necessary by the supporters of that particular school.

ALTERNATIVE TAXATION FORMS TO ACHIEVE EQUITY IN EDUCATIONAL TAXATION
FOR MINORITY SCHOOLS WHERE INEQUITIES EXIST:

73. (1) By distribution of the common realty education taxation and provincial tax grants:

(a) on a total cost basis to state-related schools.

(b) on a standard-cost-per-pupil basis to church-and-state related schools with additional direct subsidization by the respective church and lingual groups if needed. The taxes for this standard cost distribution would be derived solely from the various educational taxes contributed by declared supporters of these schools. The tax rate imposed should be sufficient to produce a standard cost distribution which meets the academic standards required today.

74. (2) By elimination of the realty educational taxation and transfer of the educational tax to the personal income tax and allowing an elective under the provincial personal income tax to declare tax for

(a) state related schools, or

(b) church-and-state related schools,

to be distributed on the same basis as in 1 (a) and 1 (b).

75. (3) By retaining the realty tax for distribution to state related schools and allowing supporters of church-and-state related schools to elect x% of their personal provincial income tax for support of these schools to be distributed as in 1 (b); the total sum (y) of such tax to be administered by the province and existing state related or church-and-state related school boards.

76. (4) By the method outlined in (3) with additional abatement to the province by the federal government to offset the sum (y).

77. (5) By retaining the realty tax for distribution to state related schools and by allowing supporters of church-and-state related schools to declare x% of their personal federal income tax which sum (y) is to be distributed on a standard-cost-per-pupil basis to church-and-state related schools through the provincial government and existing state related or church-and-state related school boards.

ADVANTAGES OF USING THE PERSONAL INCOME TAX AS A MEDIUM FOR SCHOOL

TAX SUPPORT:

78. (1) Income taxes are based upon ability to pay: income derives mainly through the advantages one has obtained from education.

79. (2) Elimination of the realty educational tax would reduce the burden of educational taxes on retired low income (grand) parents or individuals. In this instance, also, a reduction in rent would accrue to renters equivalent to the amount of realty tax eliminated.

80. (3) Personal income taxes payments are made on a time basis during the year whereas realty taxes are annual in most cases.

81. (4) Modern federal-provincial tax accounting methods by computer would allow an economical means to account for the contributive educational taxation when earlier this method might have been prohibitive.

CONCLUSION:

82. Inequities in educational financing to minorities in any province can not but affect adversely the harmony and preservation of bilingual, bicultural and other ethnic cultural values through education.

83. The percentage of the population in these minorities should not be exaggerated by those who unreasonably fear the preservation of their own culture. A maxim might be to do unto minorities as you would have them do unto you.

84. The increase in the educational taxation (from about an annual cost of \$5. per student in the 1870's to an annual cost of \$320.+ per student today) has produced an increasing socio-financial imbalance for parents who conscientiously support the school of their prior right and choice for their children, and on the other hand receive inequitable distribution from a taxation which draws a major portion of their earnings.

85. It is maintained that if a government enters the educational field (historically it was not always so) and, in turn, compels educational taxation then the common good can only be fulfilled by extension of the benefit of this tax to all children in co-operation with the conscientious desires of the parents.

86. Public multi-denominational schools supporters have constitutional rights in education but so do public denominational school supporters.

87. It is a most serious error on the part of government to assume that a single educational system could be the conscientious choice of all the public.

88. The educational philosophy of multi-denominational schools is a point of view honestly subscribed to by some. To impose this viewpoint on all by the indirect means of financial coercion is to proselytize in a most undemocratic manner.

89. We appeal to the understanding of all citizens and the government in this most serious and urgent matter.

90. We believe in the Canadian people.

APPENDIX:

Paragraph references: Sources, Definitions and Expansion.

7. Cultural concomitants: personal and social factors coexisting together in and for the person.
9. Mind-language: the language in which a person thinks.
13. Prior right: parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children...Article 26 Sub. 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
14. Socialization: "Actions to form social structures which are based upon the dignity and welfare of the human person, and which actions safeguard under all circumstances this personal dignity and welfare. Socialization is a development in the direction of not only ever wider and deeper economic and political structures but also a whole network of customs of ways of life, of voluntary or legal institutions which envelop the individual, sustain and guide him. Besides developing a sense of co-operation and solidarity, it permits the concrete satisfaction of social needs of the first importance: for example the need for housing, medical care, social security; the need for education, work, leisure. Socialization, however, is not the result of forces of nature acting according to a determinism that cannot be changed. It is the work of man, of a free being, conscious of his acts and responsible for them."

We think its control lies, therefore, in a principle of Subsidiarity. This principle is stated in "Christianity and Social Progress" Pope John XXIII (1961) - "It is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, fixed and unchangeable that one should not withdraw from individuals and commit to the community what they can accomplish by their own enterprise and industry. So, too, it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and a disturbance of right order, to transfer to the large and higher collectivity functions which can be performed and provided by lesser and subordinate bodies. Inasmuch as every social activity should, by its very nature, prove a help to a member of the body social, it should never destroy or absorb them".

Socialization, it should be emphasized, stands in sharp contrast with socialism.

In the context of the brief we use socialization in both a cultural and financial sense as applied to education in the elementary and secondary schools in Canada. We view that it is especially the right and responsibility of government to compel educational taxation and receive equitable contribution for the same because of the need of all citizens; but distributing of taxes should be in such a way that it doesn't destroy or absorb our initiative and right to relate this education for our children, not only to the legitimate demands of the state in education, but also to our homes, and church (churches) for we are at once the citizen, a member of a church, parents - and the taxpayer. Thus subsidiary principles of contributive and distributive taxation should be formulated to finance equitably the subsidiary parts of the total education system based on the right to freedom of mind, conscience, and religion of parents (children).

19. Denominational public schools: denominational, separate, parochial-type schools (Anglican, Lutheran, Catholic, Mennonite, United, Presbyterian, Jewish, etc.) as distinguished from multi-denominational public schools commonly called public schools. Certain provinces classify denominational schools as "private" because they receive no direct tax support (as in Manitoba and British Columbia) but we distinguish these from that type of private school which has among its respective qualities a special distinction that fees are payable of an amount; which though not the primary intent, automatically limits attendance to the children of wealthier families.

APPENDIX: (Continued)

20. Metaphysics: the department of human knowledge that underlies, penetrates, transforms, and unifies all other departments: Bernard Lonergan, "Insight, a Study of Human Understanding" Page 390 (1958).
- 24-41. Study and Survey Sources: Canada Year Books (1962,3,5); B.N.A.Acts, Ollivier; Civil Liberties in Canada, by D. A. Schmeiser (1964); Information from the Departments of Education of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland; Dominion Bureau of Statistics; Information from Newman Clubs and Alumnis across Canada; Conversations with individuals from the various provinces; details from various briefs, articles etc.; - as interpreted by the Newman Alumni of Manitoba.
42. 6% of earnings: Actual change from 3.5% in 1950 to 5.6% in 1960 which projects to 6.6% in 1965: Financing Education, McCordie, Canadian Conference on Education, Study #5. An August 30 (C.P.) article in the Winnipeg Tribune states that in 1962, 7½% of national income went to education.
59. Prince Edward Island's Department of Education Annual Report (1964) indicates a rise from \$6. annual cost per pupil in 1879 to \$330. in 1964.
72. Standard-cost-per-pupil basis: An amount of educational taxation sufficient to provide a year of education to a child at today's required academic standards.
78. Income derives mainly etc.: Canada Year Book 1963.

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NO.: 760-632

TITLE: A BRIEF TO THE SECRETARIES, ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM.

AUTHOR: THE NEWMAN ALUMNI OF MANITOBA.

per: Ronald Bruce
739 Knox Street
St-Charles, Manitoba.

Brief of 7 pages; 3 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

The Newman Alumni condemns the establishment, in British Columbia and Manitoba, of "state related schools based exclusively on the secular educational philosophy, excluding all schools" which by philosophy are both church and state related.

The present situation, they protest, violently contradicts the spirit of the BNA Act, the United Nation Charter and the Canadian Bill of Rights.

One must also mention the double educational taxation, which represents to the people of moderate means, an intolerable load.

They recommend the organization of a single public school system with two subsidiary parts, state related schools, and church and state related schools. To achieve this end, the Alumni suggests that there be a "dialogue" between the federal and the provincial governments concerned. They urge that educational taxes "be equitable and subordinate to educational freedom".

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BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 760-632

The Newman Alumni
of Manitoba

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

MEMBERSHIP

1. Primarily a Catholic Club, membership not restricted to Catholics.
2. Members composed of former members of Newman Clubs on university campus.
3. Offer financial support to Newman Clubs.

OBJECTIVES

1. "A work of Christian apostolate on the university level serving the religious, intellectual and social needs of Carleton students.

How Brief was Prepared

The author is Ronald Bouce of St-Chales, Manitoba, assumed to be done in conference with other alumni.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| p. 5
para. 19 | Why do you suggest the federal government approach the provincial governments? Is this not a matter for each province to work out separately? |
| general | Is the campaign for French schools in Manitoba related to your campaign for a secular school system? |

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July 21, 1965

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND SUPPLEMENT

Brief #: 760-632

The Newman Alumni of
Manitoba

WINNIPEG

QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

page 3
para. 16

Q. 1 "...The two deepest streams of cultural formation of language and mind, in Canada, form a bilingual and bicultural relationship between the French and English speaking peoples of Canada." Elaborate please. In your opinion, how strong is this kinship? How understanding? Can you see an official status given to this relationship across the country?

page 11
para. 64

Q. 2 "...These schools are also bilingual in as much as they instruct in their ancient tongue and also the mainstream of language where they are located..."

Can you see any difference between these two kinds of bilingualism? Would you define it?

September 10, 1965.

CA1Z1

-03 B22

A BRIEF TO

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

UNE MEMOIRE À

LA COMMISSION ROYALE SUR

LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

OF ONTARIO

NOUVEAU PARTI DEMOCRATIQUE

D'ONTARIO

June, 1964

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1000000

"Each of the two nations out of which Canada was created must be assured the means of full development and expression in all regions, and all the diversified cultural groups that have honoured us by choosing Canada as their homeland will be helped and encouraged to retain and develop the great traditions which enrich their lives and the whole Canadian society."

(from "Objectives and Principles")

Introduction

From the moment of its foundation, the New Democratic Party came to grips with the fact of two Canadian nations. At its Founding Convention in 1961, it declared its belief "that true Canadian identity depends upon equal recognition and respect for both the main cultures of our country." At its second convention in Regina in 1963, the New Democratic Party went further in elaborating a statement on federalism and biculturalism. In that statement, the New Democratic Party declared that:

"It is the right of every Canadian to have access to the language and culture of his nation."

Ontario New Democrats have associated themselves closely and publicly with these principles of the Federal Party. A committee on biculturalism was established in 1962 as a means of sustaining a continuing study of the relations between the Canadian nations. On February 20th, 1962, the National Leader of the New Democratic Party, Mr. T.C. Douglas and M. Romeo Mathieu, then President of the Provisional Council of the New Democratic Party of Quebec, called for the formation of a Federal-Provincial Commission on Federalism and Biculturalism. The present Royal Commission represents part of the fulfillment of this urgent national need. The New Democratic Party of Ontario sought to show its appreciation of the work of the Royal Commission, its respect for its distinguished membership and its profound concern for the problems which the Royal Commission will be examining by directing its Bicultural Committee to prepare a brief for the Commission. This brief is now submitted as a report for the consideration of the Provincial Executive.

In preparing the report, the Committee felt bound by the terms of reference of the Royal Commission. In approaching a question of such enormous complexity and seemingly endless ramifications, it chose to be guided by the questions which were posed by Mr. Davidson Dunton at the first public session of the Royal Commission on November 7th, 1963. The Committee also felt obliged to remain within the bounds of policy enunciated by both the Federal and Provincial New Democratic Parties. These have been found, for the most part, to be generous limits, both because of the imaginativeness of the policies and the necessary absence of detailed explanation.

The New Democratic Party of Ontario has adopted the report of its Bicultural Committee as its brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It respectfully submits its brief in the cause of a better understanding between Canadians of both national groups and in the hope of a more just and happy Canada for the future.

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I A Concept of Two Nations

A nation begins as a body of people who feel a need to defend their opportunities to make choices for themselves in various fields of human endeavour and feel able to do so by setting up their own government.

Thus the newly emerging African states wish to make choices for themselves in the political and economic fields; many of them do not possess the linguistic or religious unity that usually underlies nationalism based on a desire to make independent choices in questions of culture.¹ Nineteenth century Italy and Germany are countries in which the desire for cultural unity played a much larger role, though it had eventually to be expressed in a political form. Both in modern Africa and in nineteenth century Europe the desire for self expression in one field created a need for sovereignty in all fields.

However it is not necessary for nations to set up their own governments, and the governments that they do set up need not be sovereign in all respects though it is necessary for them to feel able to set up their own governments on a basis of complete sovereignty. It is also necessary for them to feel that the acquisition of sovereignty can help them gain freedom of action in the sphere of activity with which they are most concerned. The existence of foreign rule does not stop people feeling able to proceed to full sovereignty, and it may make them particularly conscious of the extent their freedom would be increased by the possession of sovereignty.

Canada emerged as a nation designed to defend the opportunities of the English-speaking community that wished to make political and economic decisions independently of the British and American nations with which it had so much in common culturally; and to defend the cultural position - particularly in linguistic and religious matters - of the French-speaking community, at that time relatively uninterested in political and economic decisions except when they intruded on its own fields of special concern.

The English-speaking community was concerned with nationalism only as a check to the dangers to its position from beyond the boundaries of Canada; the French-speaking community shared the belief in the importance

1. Throughout this section, "culture" is used in a wide sense to include, as well as artistic and linguistic matters, issues concerned with the arrangement of family life, education and the ultimate purpose of living.

of gaining freedom of action unhindered by British or American authority, but it also felt that its own freedom of action was subject to dangers inside Canada. Accordingly, it has invoked the spirit of nationalism as a defence against assimilation by English Canada as well as the rest of the world. English Canada has felt less need to defend itself against French Canada, and so has not developed a nationalism specific to itself.

It may be noted, of course, that when French Canada presses its claims, the reaction of English Canada betrays signs of incipient nationalism. From time to time English Canada has taken steps that have aroused a fierce nationalist response in French Canada; on many of these occasions the steps have been taken with no understanding of why they would arouse resentment. They are seen in French Canada as deliberate steps towards English-Canadian aggrandisement; the truth is perhaps more galling to French Canada - they were taken unconsciously, with very little idea that measures like federal grants to universities could awaken the problem of nationalism inside Canada.

The other ethnic groups in Canada are not in a position to set up governments for themselves; as a result, nationalism is not a feasible way for them to defend themselves. This does not mean that the philosophy of the melting pot can be applied to them. A "melting pot" presupposes the existence of a much more clearly defined national philosophy than has so far been evidenced in Canada. The ethnic minorities have usually been obliged, at least linguistically, to fit into the English-speaking community; if they are drawn too quickly into a country which respects the French Canadian position, their response may be to join the most strident of those who object to an equal respect for French Canada.

The freedom of action of these groups has first to be thought of as a problem of individuals within a state. Thus it is desirable to make it easy for them to write to the government and receive replies in their own language; and it may be that the position of French Canadians could have been preserved most effectively in the past if they had been treated as individuals on a footing of equality with other individuals inside Canada. Since they were not treated as equals, French Canadians choose to express their desire for self-preservation as a community. The

existence of French Canada as a group that will not be absorbed places it on a different footing from other groups which will be absorbed into a culture different from their own in the fulness of time, but this uniqueness of French Canada need not have led to the current conviction of French Canada that it must defend itself as a nation. This conviction is the result of the discovery, made by French Canadians over a fairly long period of time, that they could not defend their position as individuals.

The position of French Canada depends on the fact that nationalism is a feasible means of defence. An independent Quebec is not unthinkable in the way that an independent state for Poles living in Canada is unthinkable. In 1867 Quebec received powers as a government to defend the interests of the French Canadian community; the provinces could make decisions in religious, educational and other cultural affairs, and the federal government looked after fields which might generally be described as political and economic.

Cultural and economic affairs are now much harder to keep apart. They are drawn together by the willingness of the government of Quebec to accept the needs of the present day. It might appear at first sight as though the emergence of a French Canadian desire to create an industrialized and relatively secularised society might ease contacts between French Canada and English Canada. In fact, tensions which used to be expressed in terms of Catholicism and Protestantism now find expression in terms of national identity.

In 1867, the underpinning of cultural integrity was provided by the Church; today it is largely provided by education, paid for by using the state's power to tax. People's values in life are now shaped by the operation of the economic system to a greater extent than a century ago. The result of these changes is to make it hard for the French Canadian community to ignore its needs in the economic sphere, and it is at present trying to look after them by expanding its national feeling. However, it remains true that the basis of French Canadian nationalism is the desire to defend a cultural position, and this means that a clash with the wider nation of Canada which is based on the desire for economic and political independence is not inevitable.

One very probable result of any attempt to give constitutional recognition to a French Canadian nation will be the creation of an English Canadian nation. It is possible that feeling in French Canada has developed to such a stage that the advantages of such recognition would outweigh the problems likely to be caused by the emergence of a conscious English-Canadian nation. A House of Commons with equal power for English Canada and French Canada would lead to a new cry of "rep by pop" so loud that it would tear the country apart. It would be far better for Quebec to emerge as an independent nation amicably than as a result of the struggles that might arise if English Canada came to feel that the government of Canada depended on a House of Commons which deliberately did not accept the principle of one man, one vote. English Canadians would feel that they were being denied their rights as individuals, and their reaction would be the same as that of French Canadians in the same position - a determination to join together, as a national group, to defend those rights.

The appearance of a French-Canadian nation cannot, under the definition offered in this section, be taken as an unmixed blessing. It is the reaction of French Canadians to the threat presented to their cultural integrity by the English-speaking majority in Canada and in North America. Defensive nationalism may be a necessary response for French Canada. This is primarily a matter for them to judge, although it should be added that it is the duty of English Canadians to try to remove this threat. The process of setting up a French Canadian nation that feels separate from English Canada - though not necessarily in the sense of needing a separate sovereign government - is probably irreversible. What can be avoided is the creation of a conscious English Canadian nation; its creation would do English Canada and French Canada so little good that it should be avoided.

II The Notion of Bilingualism

Like many words adopted as political slogans, "bilingualism" is suffering from semantic confusion. In both English and French, the word includes two senses: the presence of two languages in a single place (e.g. a bilingual traffic sign) and the ability of a single person to express himself in two languages (e.g. a bilingual person).

In humble obscurity, "bilingualism" could continue to contain these two related concepts without strain. In heated debate, it becomes more difficult. French Canada is currently more concerned with the co-existence of the two official languages within Canada. Its campaign has been interpreted by the English, however, as a demand that English² Canadians be required to become fluent in French. To at least some in Quebec, this is the very reverse of their intentions, for a more widespread individual bilingualism is seen as a subtle vehicle for assimilation.

The bilingualism which is in question in Canada today is the co-existence of the two languages of the two founding nations. It requires that both English and French speaking Canadians must feel secure in their language rights. It means that all Canadians must recognize that the language of the majority will not become, by force or osmosis, the language of all.

Acknowledgement of this kind of bilingualism - one might almost call it co-lingualism - is the prerequisite to serious progress in the second kind of bilingualism. So far, the onus for communication between our two language groups has rested largely on French-speaking Canadians. Bilingual French Canadians have done far more than their share in creating for all Canadians a sense of our country as a whole. Their efforts however brave and imaginative, will be unavailing so long as English Canada feels relieved of the responsibility for making this aspect of Canadian unity work.

Who must be bilingual? The ideal answer is paradoxical: everyone and no one. It is no offence for democratic socialists to speak of utopias. One can conceive a Canada in which every citizen would speak both official languages and others as well. Such a condition would offer an escape from a future of shifting and difficult compromises. Yet it remains utopian. While it is true that almost anyone can acquire some knowledge of another language, it would be intellectual conceit to suggest that this is likely in Canada at present. Large parts of English Canada and small parts of French Canada have no contact with the other official language and, in varying degrees, are unaware that any problem

2. The only way to say "ask" in French is "demander".

exists. In terms of present realities, it would be a fairer principle to insist that no Canadian must be bilingual. That is to say: every practical disability encountered by any Canadian because he speaks only one of the official languages should be eliminated so far as practically possible. It need hardly be added that no principle should inhibit the government at all levels from relieving practical disabilities of other language groups in our country. If forms, documents and translators are necessary in other languages than English and French, it is surely no betrayal of our Canadian ideals to respect the interests and convenience of these people.

If no Canadian must be bilingual, there are many who should be. Under the parliamentary system of representation, members must be reflected to reflect their constituents in language as in outlook, but even with simultaneous translation available in the federal Parliament, knowledge of both official languages is an asset of growing importance for political leaders who would claim to speak for Canada. It seems self evident that senior federal civil servants must be expected to become bilingual, particularly if they are to exercise control over the affairs of all Canadians. Moreover, as Me. Therrien complained in his dissent to the Glassco Report:

"In the Federal administration of Canada, bilingualism is not treated as it should be, that is, as an efficient instrument of administration." 3

There is justifiable concern about the duplication and waste which the provision of service in two languages may entail for any organization, public or private. Bilingualism is the efficient way of limiting this disadvantage and employers, public and private, must be prepared to pay for it.

Many of the learned societies and charitable organizations have evaded the problem of bilingualism even more conspicuously than the federal government. Some others have satisfied themselves with building an organization on the principle of internal separation, for example, the Royal Society of Canada which operates in French and English sections. It should be a concern of such societies and organizations to increase contact between Canadians of all languages working within particular

3. Royal Commission on Government Organization, I, 72.

fields. Measures are recommended in this brief which would make bilingualism a more practical possibility for private organizations as well as for government.

Canada cannot wait for bilingualism to grow. As the central agency of our country's unity, the federal government can provide leadership and assistance.

Recommendations

1. A school for linguists, similar to that maintained in Switzerland, should be established. It should concentrate initially on the two official languages, extending to others as need and opportunity offers. It should also be a centre for research into language teaching methods.
2. The Federal Government should create a translation service, to be available both for the public service and for agencies, organizations and businesses beyond the public domain. The Government should maintain equipment and teams of interpreters for simultaneous translation, to be provided for outside organizations at cost or even under subsidy.

III An Appropriate Constitutional Framework

In wide areas of Canada, equality of respect and opportunity for both founding cultures cannot be said to exist at present. In some areas, they seem unlikely ever to exist. This should not inhibit the establishment of goals for all Canadians which a majority of them would now regard as just and praiseworthy.

It is normally through constitutions that men have sought to establish not merely the legal forms but also the aspirations of their political societies. Our age has been prolific of declarations, manifestos and organic laws and, because so many of these documents have been so quickly dishonoured in practice, one may question whether the device retains any value. The answer, for Canada at least, is that the rules of law continues to prevail here and that statutory words continue to have meaning.

The British North America Act seems hardly to fulfill even the most generous definition of a Canadian constitution. It does not set out any goals for a Canadian political society. Even as a description of

Canadian government, it is largely misleading. Fortunately the revision and re-negotiation of the Canadian constitution involves questions of such enormous scope that the problem has been regarded as beyond the scope of this brief.

Whether or not Canadians are prepared to expend the necessary imagination and emotional energy in the total revision of their organic law, there are steps of constitutional significance which can be taken now. There are precedents for declarations of constitutional force, either within the Constitution, (e.g. the American Bill of Rights) or outside it as an independent document (e.g. the British Bill of Rights). To have force and meaning, such a document would have to be endorsed not merely by the Federal Parliament, as was the case with the Canadian Bill of Rights, but by all the provincial legislatures as well. Consent to a statement of a national purpose to create a bicultural, bilingual society might be slow, difficult, perhaps even impossible to obtain but without provincial consent, nothing will be gained. Most of the powers to make the national purpose a reality lie within the provincial sphere.

A statement of the national purpose for Canada would serve a vital function. Canada needs an evident and unalterable declaration of an evident and unalterable fact - Canada will survive as a partnership of two nations or it will not survive at all. The Quebec Act of 1774 acknowledged that the French fact in North America was not to be a transient phenomenon. Through generations, elements of the English cultural and linguistic majority have sought to reverse that judgement. They have failed in their over-all aim but their efforts and their minor successes have left a weakened and divided Canada. In attacking reaction, they have often fortified it. In seeking a broader outlook, they have left it narrower. In working for a national unity, they have left a deeper bi-national division. A constitutional declaration of the principle of national equality, followed by forthright policies to sustain it might banish the dream of assimilation which still rests in the minds of many English-speaking Canadians and might reassure those of the best minds of French Canada which have been devoted to this long struggle for national survival.

The authors of the Confederation of 1867 were as careful of the

rights of the English minority in the Province of Quebec as they were of the French minority in the new federation. A century later, the rights of French-speaking minorities in other provinces, particularly in Ontario and New Brunswick, remain to be recognized. The constitutional protection accorded to one minority has not, demonstrably, been a source of weakness to the Province of Quebec. It should be generously extended.

One constitutional protection of minority cultural rights which has been particularly cherished by Quebec has been the reservation of all power over education to the provinces. The provisions of the British North America Act which were intended to protect denominational schools have been virtually eliminated. A series of judicial decisions demonstrated that Section 93 never had any power to protect linguistic educational rights. Nevertheless, confessional schools continue to survive in most provinces, based on a mixture of legal authority and local support. In many communities outside Quebec, where there are concentrations of French-speaking Canadians, there are also French language schools. In Ontario, these often receive financial support from tax revenue but only half way through secondary school. In all provinces, private schools are legal but the parents of children attending them are not relieved from paying taxes to support public schools. While justifiable when private schools are the resort of the wealthy, this provision becomes indefensible when applied to French Canadians attempting to sustain their children in their own language and culture. In many communities, they are economically the least able to support such a double burden.

The virtual demise of Section 93 has left the field to the provinces. From time to time, there have been demands for more federal involvement in the field of education but most of the proposals have been drowned in protests. With an increasingly mobile population, with unemployment concentrated among the unskilled and badly educated, the field of education can no longer be regarded as a field of exclusively provincial concern. The whole country shares the burden of a wasted and misused manpower. The consequences are felt in lagging growth, regional decay and widespread unemployment.

Although it has been the traditional defender of provincial autonomy in education, French Canada must now be aware that the protection of a

part has been purchased at the expense of the rest. The example of Quebec's treatment of its English-speaking minority has not been imitated outside its borders. With its grants to universities, vocational education, schools in the Northwest Territories and for military dependents, the Federal Government is already involved in education without de Jure authority. The time has come to make its participation explicit. While, for traditional reasons, the provinces must retain primary authority over education, the Parliament of Canada should be enabled to work with the provinces to establish common goals for education across Canada, to establish the principle of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canadian education and to provide services of co-ordination and research which most provinces cannot now maintain.

Recommendations

1. There should be a National Declaration of Purpose, endorsed by the Federal Government and by all the provinces, affirming the bi-national character of our country and affirming, as a consequence, that equality of respect and opportunity are the rights of Canadians of either linguistic and cultural tradition. It could also serve as an expression of the rights and ideals shared by all Canadians, new and old. Such a Declaration might stand alone or be incorporated as a preamble for a revised Canadian constitution.
2. While acknowledging the artificiality of recognizing national groups where they cannot really be said to exist, when French-speaking communities do form a substantial minority in any province, as they do at present in such provinces as Ontario and New Brunswick, they should be accorded constitutional, parliamentary and judicial rights comparable to those at present applying in the Province of Quebec to the English-speaking minority.
3. There should be a recognition of the real federal role in education while in no way altering the constitutional primacy of the provinces in this field.

IV A Place for the New Canadians

As a matter of principle, it must be urged that, no matter what exact form confederation may take in future years, or what measures are devised to promote biculturalism and bilingualism in this country, the continued

expression of ethnic ways and interests should not only be permitted but be encouraged in a bi-national Canada. As has been already suggested, Canadians have not subscribed to a "melting pot" theory of nation forming in the past and there will certainly be no need to subscribe to a double melting pot theory in the future.

Although he may be aware that much of the colour and value of contemporary Canadian life depends to a large extent upon the presence and contributions of distinguishable ethnic groups, the sober observer realizes that, as time goes on, differences and distinctions of national origin and character will tend to disappear. This is an inevitable and natural process. It is not one which we desire, and it is certainly not one which should be encouraged by official action in either a positive or negative fashion. The forces of economics, education, mass communications and general social activity naturally work toward the assimilation of groups which have nothing beyond a language and a memory to keep them distinct and together. Fortunately, not all social forces are unconscious, and much can be done to retard an inevitable process. Any reasonable effort suggested by different ethnic groups to preserve, nourish and perpetuate what is valuable in their traditions should be positively encouraged, in the hope that they will the ways and character of Canada as a whole. Thoughtful Canadians from both majority groups are fully aware of what they have gained in richness and variety of life from the injection of ethnic traditions and culture into our life and they will do all in their power to see that this influence continues as long as possible. All groups must be made to feel that they are taking part in the process of building Canada, both for the value of the contributions which they will bring and for the sense of common participation which alone can create a sense of Canadian unity.

Millions of people not of French or Anglo-Saxon origin have immigrated to Canada since Confederation and most have accepted the Canadian way of life. For many, it has not been an easy task. It would be a sane and positive policy for public agencies to cushion the shock of arrival for those who arrive. There is a role, for example, which the CBC could play in informing New Canadians about their adopted country. Since the bulk of recent immigrants have tended to cluster in metropolitan areas, it is a role which it is within the means of the Corporation to fulfill.

French-speaking Canadians have an historical claim to exist as a nation. There is a strong expression among them of a desire that this claim be given expression in the form of a national state, in or out of Confederation. At the same time, no other group in Canada has consciously sought for itself a national state distinct from that which now exists. There is no reason to fear what will not happen - the fragmentation of our confederation into several ethnic entities. We can enrich our lives as citizens of this country by aiding the continuation and expression of all ethnic characteristics. A mature country should be flexible enough in its social and political structure to permit the existence within its structure of widely divergent elements. The life of a nation is too much of an organic complexity to be constrained by the goals of a narrow logic. Logic, as the wise suspect, has its limits.

At the very least, nothing should be done to deliberately thwart the contribution of other ethnic groups. We have already suggested the drafting of a Declaration of National Purpose which could include the rights and ideals which Canadians would accept as the common heritage of all in this country.

Agencies of government concerned with the cultural activities of English and French-speaking groups should be prepared to offer physical and financial assistance to the ethnic groups as well.

It is unlikely, for social and practical reasons, that the provinces of this country will undertake to provide and maintain schools in which the language of instruction would be other than English or French. However, universities should be encouraged to set up institutes, schools and departments specializing in the study of other national, racial and religious groups. Those which already exist have demonstrated their value both in increasing our general awareness of the rest of the world and, more specifically, in providing bodies of informed people who can serve the international need for communication and understanding. As Canada's international interests and commitments grow, people with knowledge of other languages and people will be in increasing demand. Leaders, scholars and writers from the "Third Canada" would find a proper role for their talents and knowledge in supplying this need.

Groups that establish part-time schools to teach their children the language of their parents should have a claim to the public assistance which is normally due to a proper cultural activity. The future will see all levels of government more intimately involved in cultural assistance and subsidy and the fostering in this limited way of languages other than those of the two officially recognized is no unreasonable claim. The history of this country has shown that organized ethnic groups have served not only to sustain a more diversified and richer Canadian culture and to ease the strain on the new arrival but also to instill a sense of rational patriotism and responsibility among their members for their adopted country.

Recent arrivals to the country should feel free to correspond with senior levels of government in their own language with the reasonable understanding that their business will be understood. We have already referred to the notion that governments should consider it reasonable to provide forms and interpreters in other than the official languages, particularly in areas where New Canadians have concentrated.

The advent of people from all parts of the world is an honour, a challenge and a responsibility for those Canadians whose ancestors were, themselves, immigrants to this country. Within the broad limits of a bi-national state, we must encourage the diversity of cultures which will enrich our lives and those of our posterity.

Recommendations

1. The physical and financial assistance which may be expected for the support of the cultural life of English and French Canada should be extended to cover other cultural groups.
2. Government services should seek to ease the shock of arrival for immigrants by augmenting staffs of interpreters and providing multi-lingual forms where these are necessary. Agencies like the CBC have a role in providing a sort of domestic International Service to introduce Canada to those who have adopted it as a homeland.

V A Place for Two Nations In Ontario

The major concern of a Royal Commission appointed by the Federal Government must be with matters which can be settled chiefly, if not

wholly, at the federal level. At the same time, the Canadian constitution has ensured that the major powers affecting bilingualism and biculturalism are held by the provinces. Happily, the Royal Commission has been willing to consider provincial matters within its field of competence.

The situation of Ontario seems to be clear enough - a minority of 425,302 French-speaking Canadians are submerged in a majority of well over six million English speaking Canadians. At the same time, French-speaking Ontarians are conscious that they are members of one of the two founding nations of Canada and that whatever rights and opportunities may be accorded to the other cultural groups which have come among us, the first priority must be the preservation of the two founding cultures. For French Canadians, the British North America Act was both a compromise and a pact, the essence of whose purpose was the flourishing of two cultures in one country.

The French Canadian soon found that the pact of Confederation guaranteed his rights only in the Province of Quebec; elsewhere he could only plead and fight for respect for his language and culture. With a resurgence of energy in Quebec, French Canadians all over the country are renewing their demands for a life and culture that are truly their own. Correspondingly, among many English-speaking Canadians, there is arising a new concept of Canadianism. The crude racial antipathies of the past are discredited; there is a new desire to understand the tongue and the culture of French Canada. In these circumstances, there is a need for the evolution of a new compromise and Ontario, with its great wealth and extent and its strong and vigorous French Canadian representation, can be its milieu.

The French Canadian wishes to be accepted as an Ontarian without being obliged to adopt the English tongue and culture. A French Canadian must, in principle, be as at home in Ontario by the possession of his French tongue and culture as is an English-speaking Ontarian. This principle must be the foundation stone on which the compromise must be built. Of course the adoption of a principle does not produce a miraculous overnight transformation. Rather, it establishes the goals of the compromise.

Recommendation

By endorsing the Declaration of National Purpose, Ontario would identify itself with the principle of equality of the two founding nations which Franco-Ontarians have sought.

VI Education as the Path to Biculturalism

Education has already been examined as an aspect of constitutional readjustment. In Ontario, the question of education and biculturalism resolves itself into two principle aspects, the provision of suitable education for French Canadians in Ontario and also provision of as good an introduction as possible for the children of one cultural tradition into the other. In Ontario, today, there is no question which of these aspects has been most neglected. We appear to do more to offer French language and culture to those with none than to guarantee and reinforce it among those who claim it as their inheritance.

The policy of the Province should be based on two principles:

- (1) The French Canadian must be offered as full a potential development of his culture as is the English Canadian.
- (2) Both English and French Canadians must have sufficient opportunity to acquire the French and English languages and to acquire an appreciation of the other culture.

Of these principles, only part of the second seems to be fully honoured at present in Ontario - English is certainly available to French Canadians in the province.

To progress toward achievement of these principles, certain practical steps seem possible. In communities where the French-speaking population is reasonably large, schools should be established in which tuition is entirely in French save for the teaching of English and of foreign languages. The pupils of such schools should have the right to sit for Grade XIII examinations in French save for language papers. Cities like Ottawa, Sudbury and Cornwall have French-speaking populations large enough to make such school systems practical. In larger, more scattered communities, a proportion of the classes in each grade could be taught in French. This proposal is advanced not merely as a means of serving the French-speaking minority in the Province but as a way of enriching the course for abler English-language students. Such a proportional system within large schools would overcome many of the arguments on the grounds of duplication of

facilities and of perpetuation of divisions between the linguistic and cultural groups.

In offering French and English as second languages and cultures, the teaching must begin from the earliest grades. The language must be taught with the greatest emphasis on conversation and comprehension. The goal must be understanding between Canadians of the two linguistic groups, not participation in an intellectual exercise. Many of the language texts in use in this province, particularly to teach French to English-speaking students, are far more concerned with France than with Québec and thus perpetuate an ugly myth of French Canada as a second rate culture. Language and history textbooks could do much more to create understanding and appreciation among Canadians.

There are other ways of entering into contact with Quebec. Provincial educational authorities should enter even more fully into the exchanges of young people now doing such excellent work under such agencies as Visites Interprovinciales. This is a programme which might have a wider application to the whole of Canada in encouraging young people to get to know families in all parts of the country, of all national and ethnic backgrounds and of all ways of life. The Ontario government should also enter into consultation with the Quebec government about means of obtaining the teachers necessary to staff an expanded system of French language schools and classes. It should also be prepared to take a sensible and imaginative view of the problem of teacher qualification between provinces.

Recommendations

1. Where a demand exists and where the French language population would be sufficient to support them, French language schools at all levels should be available. Where the population is smaller or the demand less, a proportion of classes in existing schools should be taught in French, both for French-speaking students and for English-speaking students seeking an enriched course.
2. Instruction in the second language should begin earlier. It should have as a primary goal the development of understanding between the two Canadian nations.
3. Exchanges between students should be expanded both in numbers and in variety. All parts of the country should be involved.

4. The provincial government should consult with Quebec about providing a supply of teachers for its expanded demand.

VII Bilingualism and the Provincial Government

With few exceptions, imposed by local necessity, Ontario conducts its public business in only one official language. Endorsation of the principles which would be embodied in the National Declaration of Purpose would oblige the province to adopt a new principle. Once again, achievement in practice might follow the principle only haltingly. There must be negotiation and compromise. The cost must not be forbidding. What can be established in a very limited time is a set of priorities and evidence of the will to follow them. A programme which is known and understood in advance will convince all Ontarians of the seriousness of the government's intentions. It will reassure Franco-Ontarians and it will rob bigoted leaders on both sides of the chance to play on fears and suspicions.

The practical steps required of the Provincial government need hardly provoke alarm. The forms which Ontarians are required to submit to the government should be in French and English. Since in many cases, signatures must be affixed, this is a reasonable provision to ensure understanding. Citizens in Ontario must feel free to correspond with the government in French or English and expect to receive a reply in the same language. In centres where the French-speaking population is concentrated, provincial government offices should have a proportion of officials who are able to deal with a French-speaking public. To solve the problem of language on traffic signs, Ontario should adopt the International system. Short of that, bilingual signs should be adopted by Ontario and erected, in the first instance, in French-speaking areas. Provincial and Municipal courts must accept the French language as official. By stages, the provincial government should begin to issue its publications in French as well as English. Government advertising appearing in French-speaking areas should be in English and French.

It is possible that such a programme would provoke an outcry from many Ontarians. The Provincial government must undertake such a programme in combination with a campaign of information and education. By working in phases, by publicizing its intentions and by being responsible about

costs, it should be possible to allay many of the objections. Those who continue to oppose an enhanced status for French language and culture in our province will have fallen out of sympathy with our viewpoint long before they have reached this section.

Recommendations

1. The language for the conduct of the public business of Ontario may be English or French. This implies that forms handled by the public must be in both languages, correspondence and personal contact with the government may be in French or English and that publications should appear in both languages.
2. The adoption of international traffic signs would obviate the language problem.
3. The language of all courts of law in Ontario may be French or English.
4. The Provincial government should undertake this programme by definite stages, accompanied by the fullest possible publicity and education.

VIII Two Cultures and a Search for a Common Denominator

Since the Canadian nations came into existence as the result of threats to their freedom of action in two distinct spheres, there is no reason why they should have a common denominator. The attempt to produce one is a challenge to the cultural position of French Canada as the "search for the Canadian identity" is seen as an attack on the cultural integrity which is French Canada's chief reason for a nationalist position.

At present, the chief danger to an independent Canadian culture is widely believed to be the spread of American influence. The United States has so strong a power of attraction that people in Canada run the risk either of becoming undifferentiated North Americans or else of having to make so great an effort to resist Americanisation that they develop anti-American attitudes.

Anti-Americanism is not a desirable emotion, but it could have some redeeming qualities if it led to greater agreement inside Canada. However, the existence of a force that is regarded as a common danger does not lead the most vehement anti-Americans in English-Canada to be foremost in understanding the problems of French Canada, while the most determined upholders of French Canada are often ready to assume that English Canadians are the

same as Americans. There may be some justification for the latter view, because the sort of freedom of action that English Canada wants to preserve from the United States is political and economic, with few cultural overtones.

It is hard to find ways in which the culture of English Canada has been affected by its proximity to French Canada. So few people in English Canada are bilingual that it would be surprising if there had been a great cultural impact. On the other hand, so many people in French Canada are bilingual because of economic necessity that they are likely to feel the influence of the English language is something to be resisted. Seen in this context, English-speaking Canada is merely an extension of the same threat as the United States. The uneasiness about the expansion of English-Canadian influence felt by French-Canadians is in many ways comparable to the uneasiness that all Canadians feel about the expansion of American influence. Just as Canada has no great influence on the United States in social and cultural affairs, so French Canada has little opportunity to shape the thinking of English Canada. But while this sort of unequal relationship may be unavoidable between separate countries, it is very undesirable between two component parts of the same country.

Certainly some common factors, apart from the influence of the United States, affect the cultural position of everyone who lives in Canada, but these factors are mainly the result of economic and geographical circumstances. The sparsity of the population makes contact difficult and the various parts of the country are sufficiently different to encourage regionalism. The harshness of the country makes much of it uninhabitable and affects the life and thought of all Canadians. In France, Britain and the United States, the countries with which Canada is most concerned, some of the values of the community are maintained by an economically privileged class of highly cultivated tastes. There may be good reasons, founded on social justice, for doing away with such a class but Canada has achieved the worst of both worlds: it has an economically privileged class but not one that can serve the cultural role of bridging the gulf between English and French Canada.

The work of artists, which can be referred to as culture in the narrow sense of the word, is the visual and vital expression of the whole culture of the country, in the sense used earlier. In searching for cultural

common denominators, the artists' idea of their audience is surely relevant. Success, for an English Canadian, means recognition in New York or London; Toronto is not enough and Montreal may not even enter his head. In the same sense, no French Canadian would look to the "conquest of Toronto" as the peak of his ambition. (Naturally, these comments apply less to visual artists than to writers, actors, producers and all those working with language.)

The field of historical biography is not the purest form of artistic creation, but it is usefully related to the problem of culture, and it provides some useful examples. During the last ten years, Lives of MacDonald, Brown, King, Meighen and Massey have been published, completely or in some part. They all illuminate the course of Canadian history and are written attractively as well as informatively, but it cannot be said that any of them offers any insight into Quebec; for these scholars, Quebec is just another problem to be dealt with - like the Western farmers. This is no condemnation, for the writers reflect the cultural situation as it exists and the political situation as it seemed from the context of their books.

To seek another approach would have been to turn from an international audience for the sake of an artificial attempt to improvise a juncture of the two cultures. The wide international audience is almost certainly more stimulating than a relatively narrow audience of the other language. An attempt to turn away from it would be unlikely to inspire any compensating artistic success. If it were to be encouraged by official attempts to create a Canadian identity, this would have the additional disadvantage of being liable to interpretation as a threat to the cultural autonomy of French Canada.

Recommendations

Any attempt to discover a Canadian culture is based on a false premise. Any such creation would be artificial in the present context and the process of creation would provoke such strains as to endanger a Canadian unity found in other dimensions.

IX Two Cultures and the Mass Media

We have concluded that there is no Canadian culture as such - rather there is an international culture in which Canadians can participate with

different and personal accents. The most important means for their participation, certainly those which public policy can most influence, are the mass media.

In relation to biculturalism, the mass media have two responsibilities. The first is to provide adequate means of expression for each national culture across Canada. The second is to bring to all Canadians an awareness of the contributions of both cultural groups. The officially sponsored mass media have recognized these responsibilities although they have gone rather further in realizing the first than the second. With a few distinguished exceptions, the contribution of the private sector has been slight. Searching for commercial success, they have found that the only controversies which sell products are those between popular virtue and popular villainy. If we are to use the mass media as a means of making Canadians aware of their cultural duality, we shall either be limited to the short range of the public agencies or we must persuade the private sector of the necessity of participation. Undoubtedly the Royal Commission will receive well informed and imaginative briefs from the major agencies of the mass media. The observations and recommendations offered here claim no higher pedigree than what seems necessary and possible to an outsider.

The common principle in all that follows in this section is the contention that the mass media can perform their two bicultural roles only to the extent that they are themselves strong, healthy and diversified. To the degree that they are now weak and failing in both the private and public sectors, the variety of voices which should speak for our differentiated cultures are reduced and even stilled. There are some fields in which competition has little place; in the struggle of ideas, it is most necessary. Most of our proposals will be as much directed at supporting and strengthening organs of the mass media as to encouraging them to play a part in the specific field of biculturalism.

Canada has no national newspaper although the Globe and Mail and Le Devoir might seek to lay claim to being the voices of their respective national sections. Newspaper publishing is essentially a local industry and, in English Canada at least, most cities are limited to one paper, often a bland production, devoted only to raising circulation. In French Canada, the device of co-operative ownership has allowed the survival of lively and radical voices in the daily newspaper world. It is a device which more

newspapers should investigate. One co-operative venture in which many Canadian newspapers take part is the Canadian Press. All daily newspapers must rely on it for the reporting of Canadian news. It is a grievance of French language papers that all news carried on the wires for Canadian Press must be in English. In addition to the delays and the ample scope for confusion in one and perhaps two translations, this seems an avoidable disability. Canadian Press is dependent on the support of contributing papers and its own news gathering resources are very limited. It does not set out to provide news analysis in a depth or of a quality comparable even to individual major world newspapers such as the New York Times, the Guardian of Manchester or the Observer of London. It also does not try to provide the space fillers of such American services as N.A.N.A. or N.E.A. In 1963, Congressional investigation of some of the American news agencies and services revealed the ease with which press agents of such dubious folk as Salazar or Chiang Kai Shek have been able to have propaganda disseminated in the guise of news. This situation must give all North American newspapers relying on such services cause for concern. For Canadian newspapers, it should be an impetus to think of alternatives.

Many English-language papers make use of Weekend Magazine as a coloured supplement. Several French-language papers make use of Perspectives, a magazine produced by the same publisher, with a similar format and embodying many of the same features. Such a magazine serves as a vehicle of practical biculturalism for a mass audience. It also reduces editorial and printing costs for both editions. Such an example could be followed in many of the features which appear regularly in the smaller daily and weekly newspapers. Medical problems, fashion, cookery, women's pages could be effective weapons in creating a climate of common interest and understanding. To establish a service of syndicated features might initially be expensive. The cost might always be higher to Canadian papers than competing American features. It is a field in which explicit government intervention would be difficult. The old subsidies to the Canadian Press provoked loud and sometimes justified accusations of government meddling with the news. This is a field in which an independent fund, established to further biculturalism and bilingualism, could make a major contribution.

Book and periodical publishing in Canada is as generally unhealthy in Canada as newspaper publishing is robust. Since books and periodicals can

only find economy in large sales, the impact of American imports has been conspicuous. The analysis of the O'Leary Commission revealed that such giant publications as Time and Readers' Digest can make a virtually clear profit from their ostensibly Canadian editions. While book publishing in Canada seems to have recovered from its worst days, it remains a hazardous venture. Some of the most interesting recent developments have come from French Canada where a number of small publishing houses have capitalized on the revolution of ideas in Quebec through (by Canadian standards) enormous sales of paperback books on current topics. These same firms have helped to explain French Canada to the rest of the country by publishing English translations of some of their most successful books. In English Canada, there are only a few firms of comparable enterprise. The co-operation of French and English publishing houses in producing Dear Enemies/ Chers ennemis is a rare but explicit contribution to bicultural understanding. Another achievement has been the appearance of le Magazine Maclean, one of the most hopeful recent additions to our periodical publishing scene. It is also an example of the economies to be gained by at least a certain interchange of editorial material and the common use of press facilities and business management. One might wish only that there were more interchange of editorial opinion. It is well enough time that both English and French Canada could read what each is writing about the other.

With few exceptions, the remainder of the publishing world lives in a state of precarious health. Like the newspapers, magazines can carry their influence to a mass of people whom the publicly sponsored mass media are unlikely to reach. They can do this only if their financial health is assured. Apart from their inference of embargo, the O'Leary Commission recommendations were of great value to both Canadian cultures. At the same time, the publishing industry might well do more for itself. The economies of bilingual publication should be examined. Management of publishing houses by co-operatives and by publicly subscribed trusts would allow a sharing of risks without surrender to a purely plutocratic control of the mass media. Collective ownership in publishing can work well and there are many examples, particularly in French Canada, to prove it.

Outside its place in the television industry, film probably has the least impact of all the mass media produced in Canada. Many Canadians are probably unaware of the existence of the National Film Board. Almost all

Canadians would be surprised to know that in 1961 there were sixty-six producing film companies in Canada and, according to J. R. Kidd, more films are produced in Canada annually than there are books published. Such figures are reduced to proportion, of course, when one spends an evening with television.

One of the most striking facts about the National Board in recent years has been the emergence of a group of talented and even brilliant French Canadian producers. One of the most striking instances of the schism between our two cultures is the almost complete English Canadian ignorance of this development. This ignorance will remain so long as the documentary film remains the stock in trade of the Board. At present, the main contacts of the Board, apart from television, are with audiences abroad, with school children and with isolated communities. It is only through becoming a recognized producer of feature films for the world market that the Board can stake a claim to the mainstream of Canadian life. It can only achieve this after a long trial and error process of becoming competent. This need not be unreasonably expensive but it will demand courage and perseverance. The film industries of postwar Italy and of contemporary Sweden suggest the artistic credit to be won. Costs and distribution difficulties make it unlikely that Canada could afford a large film industry under private management; the National Film Board has given evidence that it can be a way of co-ordinating the talents of both nations in valuable artistic endeavour. Canadian experience has shown that artistic talent can thrive as fully, perhaps more fully, under public management and patronage than under private control.

The role of broadcasting in both Canada's cultures has come under considerable scrutiny recently. The attention has been concentrated on the CBC. For years, this most conspicuously successful achievement of public enterprise in Canada has been under attack by men who, for the most part, have been engaged in prostituting an invaluable medium for commercial profit. While it may be far from perfect in structure and wisdom, the Corporation has achievements so far in advance of other organs of broadcasting, not merely in Canada but in the United States as well, that attempts to destroy its prestige are impossible to understand save in terms technically libellous to the perpetrators. The propaganda of the private broadcasters is financed from a small part of the takings of an industry

which, in 1957, was the third most profitable in the country and which has not gone downward since.

Can private broadcasting be expected to play a major role in serving either Canadian culture? The answer is suggested by Bruce Raymond's kindly description of its sycophantic role:

".... In other words, private radio, to be financially viable, has had to court as wide a circle of friends as possible by being unashamedly a good companion. Like all good companions, it has kept its friends by being inoffensive, uncontroversial, sentimental, flattering and ubiquitous." 4

Whatever economic function it may claim to fill as the handmaiden to the huckster god, private broadcasting in radio or television cannot be expected to participate voluntarily in the difficult or demanding. That role falls to the CBC but the Corporation cannot be expected to sustain it without courageous public and political support.

So far as its financial resources and technical means permit, the CBC has accepted responsibility for providing its services in both French and English. In radio, coverage is probably as complete as it can be with the present equipment. French AM coverage extends from Moncton in the East to an affiliated station in Edmonton. In television, coverage again begins at Moncton but goes no farther west than Winnipeg. This will presumably be improved.

The Corporation has been rather slower in meeting its responsibility for bringing the two Canadian cultures into some degree of interchange and recent experiments in this direction have not been as well received as many in the Corporation may have hoped. One hesitates to criticize producers for assuming that racial and linguistic bigotry might have subsided with the years but it is true that little was done to make programmes like Le medecin malgre lui understandable and attractive to an audience which spoke little or no French. The CBC must experiment with ways to relieve the plight of unilingual audiences. There might also be public relations value in making the audiences of the original programme aware that it would be simultaneously or subsequently transmitted to the rest of Canada. Programmes should be arranged to make Canadians better aware of the

4. In John Irving (ed.) The Mass Media in Canada, (Toronto, 1962) 105.

contributions of members of both cultural traditions. How many English-speaking Canadians are aware of the prominent part played by French Canadians in the contemporary art world? Programmes of serious music should be shared by the networks and the CBC should not try to conceal the sharing by simultaneous announcements. Canadians who do not live in direct contact with the other national group can be surprisingly unaware of its existence. People need to be reminded. A certain prominent New Democrat drew undeserved acclaim for observing that where he came from, French Canadian culture meant no more than Rocket Richard and Lili St. Cyr. A French Canadian politician from the more remote areas of Quebec might be excused for having as narrow and ill-informed a view of English Canada. The CBC must play a major part in altering parochial misimpressions.

It cannot do it alone. The CBC is currently dependent on Parliament⁵ for two thirds of its annual budget. This makes it, to some extent, the ward of the government of the day, a victim of sudden economy drives such as the austerity programme of 1962, and the target of politicians who are aware that the Corporation serves a minority taste and who must weigh the indifference and occasional dull hostility of their constituents toward the Corporation against the fiery loyalty of its supporters. Vulnerability becomes dangerous when the CBC seeks to be the agent for a policy like bilingualism and biculturalism which has a potential for raising bigoted agitation.

The CBC must have evidence of the support of the government and of all thoughtful Canadians as it ventures on a task of even such a narrow scope as educating its own faithful audience. Its role would be essentially political as much as cultural, but it must be relieved from the pressures of partisan politics. Its revenue should be guaranteed in some more certain way than the annual estimates and its development budget should be projected over a much longer period - say ten years, with provision for automatic adjustment due to rising costs. As presently constituted, the CBC can only be a minority influence. Either Parliament should restore the CBC as the guiding force in Canadian broadcasting or it should give the Board of Broadcasting Governors the powers and the impulse to make the air waves a vital national utility rather than a lucrative source of private profit in monopoly conditions. This does not imply an exclusion

5. \$72,654,738 out of \$108,365,882 in 1963 according to the Corporation's Annual Report for the fiscal year 1962-63.

of American culture. Far from it, so long as it is part of our enrichment in difference. It does mean that an effort must be made to associate all the agencies of the mass media in our national purpose, not merely those already most susceptible to its appeal.

The national purpose of Canada has been envisaged as the creation and development of a country built on co-operation in diversity and the acceptance of difference not as a source of division but of general enrichment. This is rhetoric but the alternative is another sort of rhetoric, that of hatred, despite and, eventually, of conflict. In a world in which internationalism has come to seem the only alternative to mass suicide, this is the only sort of national purpose we can have.

Some of the proposals made in earlier sections are seen specifically as the concern of the public purse; others are not. In some cases, it is vital that there be financial independence. In such cases, one looks to other means of support such as the machinery of the Canada Council. It is reasonable and even desirable that governments at all levels should contribute to such organizations. It is essential that neither de jure nor de facto should they control them. The money should be administered as a separate Fund for the National Purpose, to be used in projects for the advancement of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to foster greater understanding between French and English-speaking Canadians and between Canadians of all cultural heritages.

Recommendations

1. The Canadian Press should be enabled to become an agency for features and news analysis for its members, with a view to increasing the Canadian content in Canadian newspapers and to stressing the common values and ideas of Canadians.
2. Publishing ventures, both of books and periodicals, should be encouraged to develop new co-operative forms of ownership and financial support. Examples of co-operation between French and English publishers should be welcomed and supported.
3. The recommendations of the O'Leary Commission, particularly with respect to mailing privileges, should be implemented, for a strong periodical press will be of service to both nations, separately and together.
4. The National Film Board should be supported in ventures into the production of full length feature films as a means of bringing its work

not only to the critical attention of a world audience but also to the mass of Canadian people.

5. The CBC should be sustained in its policy of expanding coverage in both languages to all of Canada. In giving a greater priority to the need to make its audience culturally aware of all of Canada, it must experiment with new techniques to make an effective contribution to understanding. It should achieve a greater measure of financial independence.
6. To make broadcasting a public service for all Canadians, the media in the private sector particularly need a fresh reminder of their responsibilities. The Board of Broadcast Governors needs stronger powers and the vigour to use them.
7. A Fund for the National Purpose should be chartered as an instrument for fostering projects to promote a bilingual and bicultural Canada. The Fund must be granted as wide a degree of political independence as possible.

X Biculturalism in Ontario

The New Democratic Party has urged the establishment of an Ontario Arts Council, working closely with the Canada Council, and encouraging local initiative in the presentation of creative arts for public enjoyment. Such a Council would also have a role in fostering the cultural activities of Franco-Ontarians. A French-language little theatre movement has always been a force in parts of this province. It would grow in quality and influence on both cultural groups in the Province if it had the benefit of greater contact with the lively and excellent professional theatre of Montreal. There is need for liaison between French cultural groups in Ontario and those in Quebec and in France.

Recommendation

An Ontario Arts Council should be established, to include among its goals the support of the cultural institutions and enterprises of the Franco-Ontarians.

XI A Binational Public Service for Canada

It is a short step from acceptance of Canada as the product of two equal founding nations to a realization of the need for a federal public service which represents both nations. As always, the distance between

principle and realization seems enormous. How does one obtain an efficient public service which is also bilingual. In this problem, there would appear to be two aspects:

- (1) The need to provide government and services in two languages without discrimination.
- (2) The need to make service in the federal government and in public enterprises a career of equal attraction to members of both national groups.

The campaign for bilingualism in the Public Service of Canada is not new. It is also true that no serious or concerted effort has yet been made to resolve the problems. Progress has been grudging and slow and almost invariably the result of the political pressure exercised by French Canadian spokesmen in and out of the government.

In terms of (1), the provision of services in both languages by the federal government, the principle has been widely accepted in the civil service. Under pressure, it has spread to the Canadian National Railway and to Trans Canada Airlines/Air Canada as well. The application of the principle has proven more difficult but there are sufficient satisfactory precedents around the world to encourage the belief that a serious effort could produce satisfactory results. So long as the working language of government in Ottawa is English, the short term problem is translation. Skillful and accurate translation is a difficult art and translators are in short supply. Compared to private business, their pay is unreasonably low. As a result, there is delay in the publication of French versions of official documents and publications and in the provision of replies to letters addressed to the government in French. These are not impossible difficulties to overcome, once it is understood that their cost is part of the overhead of our Confederation. More and better paid translators, better design of bilingual forms, more efficient procedures in printing and publishing, these and comparable measures would yield better service without demanding revolutionary change either in cost or organization.

If there is revolution in prospect, it is in (2), the establishment of a truly binational civil service. A truly representative civil service, functioning effectively, would provide a better focus for Canadian solidarity than almost any other conceivable institution. On the other hand,

a public service which, however efficient, appeared to be the monopoly of only one national group would continue to be a source of bitter divisions. Feelings are justly aroused when the best educated young people of the other nation seek public service and find themselves in an inferior position within it. It is the educated middle class of French Canada which most commonly discovers frustration in the public service. This is the same class that is forming the opinion in Quebec which could end or radically transform Confederation. Perhaps despair is the portion of all who enter the civil service but in the case of French-speaking Canadians, it is accentuated by the frustrations and misunderstandings of an alien environment. As a result, the senior positions in most departments are dominated by English-speaking Canadians and the business of most branches of all departments is conducted in English. In 1961, the Public Accounts Committee was informed that of 5,000 civil servants receiving salaries of over \$8,000, only 600 were French-speaking. The proportion in the Armed Forces and the Crown Corporations might reasonably be expected to be lower. While it is privately admitted by some senior civil servants, both French and English-speaking, that a bilingual official would probably rise faster than a colleague who spoke only English, the price of his advancement might well be his assimilation. For the unilingual French-speaking civil servant, there is virtually no place in the upper echelon.

The situation is not new and the present bitterness is of long growth. Attempts to solve the problem in the past have unfortunately been closely related to the patronage needs of French Canadian cabinet ministers. They have thus gone directly contrary to the tendencies which have contributed most to an efficient civil service: security of tenure and promotion by merit. In Ottawa at least, French Canadians tend to fill more than their share of the badly paid or unskilled jobs - the messengers, cleaners, elevator operators and junior clerks. Patronage operates at the other end of the scale as well. Since most recent cabinet ministers have been conscious of the need to give at least the appearance of a national balance, several departments have Associate Deputy Ministers or officials of comparable rank who are purely ornamental. Without experience or knowledge, they are often under-employed, embarrassed anachronisms in office.

The result of such policies, if they may be so dignified, has been failure or worse than failure. Apart from a mass of junior employees and

a sprinkling of senior officials, the great gap in French Canadian representation is at the policy and executive levels. At the same time, the patronage approach to creating a bilingual civil service has aroused a deep, bitter and occasionally irrational suspicion in the minds of English-speaking members of the service. They feel that they have helped to create a public service whose honesty, efficiency and expertise might well be the envy of other countries. Any policy of creating a bilingual civil service must take heed of this feeling. It must offer hope of further improving the efficiency as well as the representativeness of the service. This might well be more true for New Democrats than for any other party because the implementation of a great part of our programme will depend on the good will and competence of the public service as well as its ability to represent Canada as a whole.

The most obvious way to achieve the co-existence of French and English in the public service would be to insist on bilingualism among all senior officials not merely in the civil service but in the armed forces and the Crown Corporations as well. This cannot be achieved at once. To insist on a sudden imposition of bilingualism as a qualification for further promotion would displace many officials who are otherwise competent in every respect in favour of others who, in many cases, are widely and justly regarded as mediocrities. Bilingualism is a goal to be achieved with a deliberate haste.

Recruiting has long been the major difficulty in creating an efficient bilingual public service. Salaries in the government have never matched those of private enterprise although security, a congenial environment and challenging work have provided a compensation. This has not been enough to attract sufficient able French Canadians for the middle and higher ranks. Many positions specifically reserved for French-speaking applicants remain vacant or are filled by candidates who lack the necessary qualifications. This is particularly true in scientific, engineering and technical appointments but even a position in the Public Archives of Canada long awaited a suitable applicant. To some extent, the problem remains one of "chicken and egg". It is difficult to build up a cadre of French-speaking civil servants until there is an adequate recruitment. The recruitment awaits an adequate cadre.

To break through this difficulty, a National College of Public Administration should be established, on the model of the Ecole Nationale de l'Administration in Paris, as a consolidated means of recruiting and training the higher officials of the federal service. Operated as a post-graduate training after the first degree, it should also provide means for the higher training of those who have been selected for promotion but who may lack formal academic training. There would be specialized training in public administration, interspersed with periods of practical experience. Entry would be by competitive examination and tuition would be free in return for an obligation to serve for a period of years upon graduation. Maintenance and marriage allowances would be paid. The courses at the E.N.A. last for three years and graduates are expected to become fluent in two foreign languages. Canadians might settle for a shorter course and fluency in only one other language.

The proposal has disadvantages. It recognizes the existence of an officer class in the civil service, not new in itself but generally concealed by subterfuge since the Civil Service Act of 1918. It is also a form of centralized management of the sort which the Civil Service Commission has been struggling to impose for three-quarters of a century on our ruggedly autonomous government departments. On the other hand, in an age of growing complexity and interdependence in government, we will need a corps of senior civil servants who have a common allegiance and a common and excellent standard of training. The establishment of such a college is the only way to combine merit and bilingualism to obtain, at an early date, a level of competent civil servants who reflect the Canadian duality. While many of the graduates of such a college might not achieve an equal grasp of both languages, the friendships and common understanding forged through following a long and arduous course might prove an even better substitute. The graduates of the E.N.A. have proven their quality and are in demand in French industry and especially in their equivalent of our Crown Corporations. With time and reputation, as much could happen here.

Within the Government itself, there are lesser proposals to be examined. The present government has undertaken an examination of the ways and means of advancing bilingualism. Such an investigation should be on a continuing basis, publishing reports of its studies and recommendations. Entrance and promotion examinations should be re-examined to ensure that

there is no concealed cultural bias which might favour a candidate educated in a certain tradition. The policy of translating all documents into English has been curtailed in many departments and might be done away with altogether. There should be substantial bonuses for public servants who can pass examinations of proficiency in the other language, when bilingualism is necessary for the position. There should be comparable allowances for proficiency in other languages necessary in the public service, for example in Indian and Eskimo languages for members of the Indian Affairs Branch. Above all, there should be continuing examination of ways of making the public service equally hospitable to both languages. One suggestion, for example, would be to favour smaller committees and working groups. In a group of four or five, a member who does not have full knowledge of the working language will be better able to make a contribution than in larger groups where more formal procedure and shyness may well reduce him to silence. Another proposal would be to allow exchanges of civil servants of a relatively junior level, particularly counter personnel, between English and French Canada so that there would be a possibility of interchange of ideas and impressions between men and women doing the same job. Such a programme would, of course, have a primary aim of education rather than increased efficiency.

An important gap in our proposals has been a failure to find a satisfactory place for the unilingual French-speaking Canadian. Outside the Province of Quebec, save in a most artificially constructed atmosphere, it is difficult to see how such a person could be employed in a very prominent position at present, although the creation of an effectively bilingual civil service hierarchy would give him much greater scope at the middle and lower levels than he can now claim. The only possibility would be to establish that certain functional sections of certain Departments would be French-speaking only, although this proposal has not so far met with support from either French or English-speaking civil servants.

Recommendations

1. The creation of a National College of Public Administration as a means of bringing both bilingualism and greater efficiency to the higher levels of the public service with a minimum of delay and disruption.
2. Continuing investigation and reporting on detailed implementation of bilingualism in the public service. This applies both to the personnel

in the public service and to the service offered to the public.

XII A Federal Capital District

Many federal constitutions recognize the need for a capital removed from the sectional, racial or linguistic differences which originally imposed the federal system. The examples of Washington and Canberra are well known to Canadians. The Swiss Republic had, for many years, a moving capital, shifting every few years from city to city until it finally settled in Berne. In Belgium, now divided by linguistic difference although not a federation, Brussels has been constituted as the one city in the country in which both French and Flemish have an equal status.

Ottawa was chosen as the capital of the United Province of Canada in 1858 because it was a meeting place for French and English Canadians. In growing from an unprepossessing logging town to a city of some 270,000, Ottawa has retained its biracial character. Unlike other federal capitals, however, Ottawa has not been neutral ground. It was the scene of the most sensational confrontations over the implementation of Regulation 17 during the early years of the First World War and, as the largest concentration of French Canadians in Ontario, it has continued to be a focus for resistance to assimilation by the English-speaking majority in the province.

Not only has Ottawa been a centre of the struggle for the survival of French Canada outside Quebec, it continues to provide a striking demonstration of the generally inferior economic position of French Canadians. The economic segregation common in North American cities coincides with the linguistic concentrations of French-speaking Canadians in the decaying brick of Lower Town and the Glebe and the sub-standard housing of the Lebreton Flats.

The Mayor of Ottawa has publicly stated that the strictly unilingual conduct of the city's business will not be changed. This is only a dramatic and public announcement of a fact which all who live and work in the city have long recognized: the provision of a just solution of the national question of Canada must begin in Canada's capital. It is almost certainly true that no provincial statute effectively stands in the way, for example, of Ottawa erecting bilingual traffic signs; the provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs has said as much. The problem lies with the

city. A national capital district is made necessary if only because the present municipal government lacks the imagination or the ability to meet its responsibilities.

Of course the establishment of a federal capital district must be more than the means of by-passing an unimaginative and ill-natured civic government. It must also be a positive measure to create a centre for all Canadians. If the federal service is to offer an attractive career to Canadians of both languages, the city in which they live must not be a stronghold of the linguistic majority. Only a metropolitan area in which there is a rough equality between the founding races would furnish a satisfactory basis for partnership at the municipal level. The 1961 census figures show that the union of Ottawa, Eastview, Hull and Gatineau would create a metropolitan area of some 408,000 of whom 207,000 claim English and 174,000 claim French as their mother tongue. The balance is spread between a variety of languages.

A national capital must serve more than its residents. Through the establishment of the National Capital Commission, and its forerunners, and through the building of museums, archives and the National Gallery, the federal government has recognized, if fitfully, its responsibility to provide a centre for Canada as a whole. Nevertheless, Ottawa remains very remote to most Canadians. There are many ways of bringing the capital, at least figuratively, closer to the rest of Canada but none could be more significant than to make the city belong to all of Canada. So long as Ottawa and Hull are simply among the larger cities of their respective provinces, this is impossible. It becomes dramatically possible if these cities, with their suburban areas, could be combined into a national metropolis.

Other capital districts can give us lessons on mistakes to avoid. The most important necessity is for the capital area to have room to grow. Its boundaries must include a hinterland sufficient for future suburban growth and for a comprehensive plan for land use. There must be land in both Ontario and Quebec. The boundaries of the present National Capital Region would be a minimum. The misfortune of the District of Columbia is that those whose wealth is essential to maintain the services of the city have escaped into adjoining states, leaving Washington without the resources to undertake its own restoration. This is a problem facing most

North American cities and it is being overcome by the formation of metropolitan units of government. A federal capital district must take this step at the moment of its formation if not before. Afterwards, it would be too late.

A second important lesson is that the citizens of a federal capital district must have full opportunity to participate in their own political affairs and in those of the nation. Until recently, neither of these rights has been accorded to the people of the District of Columbia. Within a constitution which would safeguard the principle of the partnership of the two nations, with respect for all others, the people of the capital district must have control over their own affairs.

It is possible to predict some of the objections to the establishment of a federal capital district. The governments of both Quebec and Ontario would object to the loss of their domain and the consequent reduction of population and revenue. They would forget to draw attention to the consequent relief from the services incident to this population. Franco-Ontarians might protest the substantial reduction of their numbers and a consequent decline in their influence at Queen's Park. English-speaking Ottawayans would protest such a challenge to their easy dominance of a French-speaking minority. These are, however, roughly the same arguments which will follow the announcement of any proposal to equalize the relations between our two founding cultures.

If English Canadians will not concede rights and status to others which in no way reduce their own, Confederation can only continue on a basis of naked majority rule. If the fears of French Canada cannot be allayed by a co-national declaration of principle and by conscientious efforts to give that principle a nationwide application, then Confederation cannot last. If provincial governments cannot see a need for a wider loyalty than to themselves, Confederation does not exist now and there ceases to be a purpose for a federal capital in any form.

Recommendations

1. A Federal capital District should be established embodying the area presently included within the boundaries of the National Capital Region and including the Cities of Ottawa, Hull and Eastview, the towns of Gatineau and Pointe-Gatineau and those parts of the Counties of Carleton

and Gatineau which lie within the National Capital Region.

2. Provision must be made for the Federal Capital District to have representation according to its population in the Parliament of Canada and for it to have democratic control over its own affairs within the limits of the powers accorded the provinces and of a constitution safeguarding the bicultural and bilingual character of the District.

XIII A Summary of Recommendations

The recommendations contained in this report have been listed here as a form of summary and for ease of reference.

1. Bilingualism

- a. A school for linguists, similar to that maintained in Switzerland, should be established. It should concentrate initially on the two official languages and extend to others as need and opportunity offer. It should also be a centre for research into language teaching methods.
- b. The Federal Government should create a translation service, to be available both for the public service and for agencies, organizations and businesses beyond the public domain. The Government should maintain equipment and teams of translators for simultaneous translation, to be provided for outside organizations at cost or even under subsidy.

2. Constitutional Amendment

- a. There should be a National Declaration of Purpose, endorsed by the Federal Government and by all the provinces, affirming the binational character of our country and affirming as a consequence, that equality of respect and opportunity are the rights of Canadians of either linguistic and cultural tradition. It could also serve as an expression of the rights and ideals shared by all Canadians, new and old. Such a Declaration might stand alone or be incorporated as a preamble for a revised Canadian constitution.
- b. While acknowledging the artificiality of recognizing national groups where they cannot really be said to exist, when French-speaking communities do form a substantial minority in any province as they do at present in such provinces as Ontario and New Brunswick, they should be accorded constitutional, parliamentary and judicial rights comparable to those at present applying in the Province of Quebec

to the English-speaking minority.

- c. There should be a recognition of the real federal role in education while in no way altering the constitutional primacy of the provinces in this field.

3. A Place for the New Canadians

- a. The physical and financial assistance which may be expected for the support of the cultural life of English and French Canada should be extended to cover other cultural groups.
- b. Government services should seek to ease the shock of arrival for the immigrants by augmenting staffs of interpreters and providing multi-lingual forms where these are necessary. Agencies like the CBC have a role in providing a sort of domestic International Service to introduce Canada to those who have adopted it as a homeland.

4. Bi-nationalism and Ontario

By endorsing the Declaration of National Purpose, Ontario would identify itself with the principle of equality of the two founding nations which Franco-Ontarians have sought.

5. Education

- a. Where a demand exists and where the French language population would be sufficient to support them, French language schools at all levels should be available. Where the population is smaller or the demand less, a proportion of classes in existing schools should be taught in French, both for French-speaking students and for English-speaking students seeking an enriched course.
- b. Instruction in the second language should begin earlier. It should have, as a primary goal, the development of understanding between the two Canadian nations.
- c. Exchanges between students should be expanded both in number and variety. All parts of the country should be involved.
- d. The provincial government should consult with Quebec about providing a supply of teachers for its expanded demand.

6. Provincial Government Services

- a. The language for the conduct of the public business of Ontario may be English or French. This implies that forms handled by the public must be in both languages, correspondence and personal contact with

the government may be in English or French and that publications should appear in both languages.

- b. The adoption of international traffic signs would obviate the language problem.
- c. The language of the courts of law in Ontario may be French or English.
- d. The Provincial Government should undertake this programme by definite stages, accompanied by the fullest possible publicity and education.

6. A Common Cultural Denominator

Any attempt to discover a uniquely Canadian culture is based on a false premise. Any such creation would be artificial in the present context and the process of creation would provoke such strains as to endanger a Canadian unity found in other dimensions.

7. The Mass Media

- a. The Canadian Press should be enabled to become an agency for features and news analysis for its members with a view to increasing the Canadian content in Canadian newspapers and to stressing the common values and ideas of Canadians.
- b. Publishing ventures, both of books and periodicals, should be encouraged to develop new co-operative forms of ownership and financial support. Examples of co-operation between French and English publishers should be welcomed and supported.
- c. The recommendations of the O'Leary Commission, particularly with respect to mailing privileges, should be implemented, for a strong periodical press will be of service to both nations, separately and together.
- d. The National Film Board should be supported in ventures into the production of full length feature films as a means of bringing its work not only to the critical attention of a world audience but also to the mass of Canadian people.
- e. The CEC should be sustained in its policy of expanding coverage in both languages to all of Canada. In giving a greater priority to the need to make its audience culturally aware of all of Canada, it must experiment with new techniques to make an effective contribution to understanding. It should achieve a greater measure of financial independence.

- f. To make broadcasting a public service for all Canadians, the media in the private sector particularly need a fresh reminder of their responsibilities. The Board of Broadcast Governors needs stronger powers and the vigour to use them.
- g. A Fund for the National Purpose should be chartered as an instrument for fostering projects to promote a bilingual and bicultural Canada. The Fund must be granted as wide a degree of political independence as possible.

7. Biculturalism in Ontario

An Ontario Arts Council should be established, to include among its goal the support of the cultural institutions and enterprises of the Franco-Ontarians.

8. Federal Public Service

- a. The creation of a National College of Public Administration would be a means of bringing both bilingualism and greater efficiency to the higher levels of the public service with a minimum of delay and disruption.
- b. Continuing investigation and reporting on detailed implementation of bilingualism in the public service would apply to both the personnel in the public service and to the service offered to the public.

9. Federal Capital District

- a. A Federal Capital District should be established embodying the area presently included in the boundaries of the National Capital Region and including the cities of Ottawa, Hull, and Eastview, the towns of Gatineau and Pointe-Gatineau and those parts of the Counties of Carleton and Gatineau which lie within the National Capital Region.
- b. Provision must be made for the Federal Capital District to have representation according to its population in the Parliament of Canada and for its democratic control over its own affairs within the limits of the powers accorded the provinces and of a constitution safeguarding the bicultural and bilingual character of the District.

Appendix "A"

Report on the Bicultural Questionnaire

With the intention of arousing as wide as possible an interest in the subject of bilingualism and biculturalism and of determining the level of knowledge and feeling among Ontario New Democrats, the Committee prepared a questionnaire. It was submitted to all members of the Provincial Council.. Copies of the questionnaire were sent to all ridings and it was published in the New Democrat for March. 34 replies were received from the Provincial Council and 179 replies were mailed in. The response is tabled below.

* * * * *

1. Do you feel that Canada should be:

- (a) A country of one language and one culture?
- (b) A country of one language and many cultures?
- (c) A country of two languages and two cultures?
- (d) A country of two languages and many cultures?
- (e) A country of many languages and many cultures?

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	Uncertain
Council	-	5	4	18	6	1
Mailed-in	20	35	29	68	25	3
Total	20	40	33	86	31	4

2. Would you favour the establishment of a federal capital district?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Council	27	5	1
Mailed-in	103	53	23
Total	130	58	24

3. Do you believe that the public service of Canada should:

- (a) Provide service in French only in French-speaking areas of Quebec?
- (b) Provide service in French to all French-speaking Canadians?
- (c) Provide service only in English (reply written in)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	Uncertain
Council	8	25	-	-
Mailed-in	46	116	3	14
Total	54	141	3	14

4. Would you like your children to become fluent in both official languages of Canada?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
Council	32	2	-
Mailed-in	<u>145</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>
Total	177	22	13

5. Would you support the establishment of French-language secondary schools in Ontario where significant demand exists?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
Council	24	9	1
Mailed-in	<u>98</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	122	82	9

6. Should the French-speaking minority of Ontario be granted the same rights accorded the English-speaking minority in the Province of Quebec?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
Council	28	2	4
Mailed-in	<u>128</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>21</u>
Total	156	32	25

7. Should there be public encouragement of other languages and cultures than English and French?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
Council	20	13	1
Mailed-in	<u>71</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>17</u>
Total	91	104	18

8. In 1961, at its Founding Convention, the New Democratic Party stated that Canada is a country of two nations. In your opinion, is this principle sound?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
Council	16	16	2
Mailed-in	<u>72</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	88	114	11

Il faut assurer à chacune des deux nations qui ont créé le Canada les moyens pour un développement complet et une expression libre dans tous les domaines; et tous les divers groupements culturels qui nous ont fait l'honneur de choisir le Canada pour patrie, seront aidés et encouragés à garder et à développer les grandes traditions qui enrichissent leur vie et toute la société du Canada.

("Objectifs et Principes")

INTRODUCTION:

Le Nouveau Parti Démocratique a été, dès sa création, aux prises avec le fait de deux nations canadiennes. Lors de la Convention de Création en 1961, il déclara que "la véritable identité canadienne dépend d'une reconnaissance et d'un respect égaux pour les deux cultures principales de notre pays." A la deuxième convention à Regina en 1963, le Nouveau Parti Démocratique alla plus loin en élaborant un communiqué sur le fédéralisme et le biculturalisme. Dans ce communiqué le Nouveau Parti Démocratique déclara:

"L'accès à la langue et à la culture
de sa nation est le droit de tout Canadien".

Les Néo-Démocrates de l'Ontario se sont liés étroitement et publiquement à ces principes du Parti fédéral. En 1962 un comité sur le biculturalisme fut établi pour soutenir une étude continue des relations entre les nations canadiennes. Le 20 février 1962, le Chef national du Nouveau Parti Démocratique, M. T.C. Douglas, et M. Romeo Mathieu, alors Président du Conseil Provisoire du Nouveau Parti Démocratique du Québec, demandèrent la formation d'une Commission Fédéro-Provinciale sur le Fédéralisme et le Biculturalisme. La Commission Royale actuelle comble partiellement ce besoin national urgent. Le Nouveau Parti Démocratique en Ontario a cherché à témoigner de son appréciation du travail de la Commission Royale, son respect pour ses membres distingués, et son souci profond des problèmes qu'examinera la Commission Royale, en demandant à son Comité sur le Biculturalisme de préparer un rapport pour la Commission. Ce rapport est maintenant présenté pour la considération de l'Administration Provinciale.

Le Comité s'est limité, pour la préparation du rapport, aux termes de référence de la Commission Royale. Pour aborder une question aussi complexe, ayant des ramifications apparemment infinies, il a choisi pour guide les questions posées par Mr. Davidson Dunton lors de la première séance publique de la Commission Royale, le 7 novembre 1963. Le Comité s'est senti également obligé de ne pas dépasser les bornes de la politique énoncée par les Nouveaux Partis Démocratiques, Fédéral et Provincial. Ces limites se sont révélées assez larges dans la plupart des cas, à la fois à cause de l'imagination de la politique et à cause de l'absence d'explications détaillées.

Le Nouveau Parti Démocratique dans l'Ontario a adopté le rapport de son Comité sur le Biculturalisme pour servir de mémoire à la Commission Royale sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme. Il soumet ce mémoire dans l'espoir de contribuer à une meilleure entente entre les Canadiens des deux groupes nationaux, et dans celui de voir, dans l'avenir, un Canada où fleurissent la justice et le bonheur.

Les recommandations figurant dans le rapport sont données ci-dessous sous une forme sommaire, pour faciliter les références.

1. Le Bilinguisme:

- a) Une école linguistique, semblable à celle existant en Suisse, devrait être établie. Elle se cantonnerait tout d'abord aux deux langues officielles, et s'étendrait aux autres langues dans la mesure où l'occasion et le besoin se présenteraient. Elle serait aussi un centre de recherche sur les méthodes d'enseignement des langues.
- b) Le Gouvernement Fédéral devrait créer un service de traduction qui serait à la disposition du public, ainsi que des agences, organisations et sociétés d'affaires au-delà du domaine public. Le Gouvernement devrait entretenir l'équipement et s'assurer des équipes de traducteurs pour faire de la traduction simultanée, qui seraient à la disposition d'organismes extérieurs au prix de revient, ou même sous subvention.

2. Amendement à la Constitution:

- a) Il devrait y avoir une Déclaration Nationale d'Objectifs, appuyée par le Gouvernement Fédéral et par toutes les provinces, affirmant le caractère binational de notre pays et affirmant par conséquent que tout Canadien, quelles que soient ses traditions linguistiques et culturelles, a droit au respect et à des chances égales. Cette déclaration pourrait servir également à exprimer les droits et les idéaux partagés par tous les Canadiens d'adoption ou de naissance. Une telle déclaration pourrait être indépendante, ou être comprise comme préambule dans une constitution canadienne révisée.
- b) Tout en reconnaissant l'artificiel de reconnaître des groupements nationaux là où on ne peut vraiment pas dire qu'ils existent, s'il y a des communautés francophones formant une minorité substantielle dans une province, comme c'est actuellement le cas dans les provinces d'Ontario et du Nouveau Brunswick, ces communautés devraient jouir des droits actuellement accordés dans la Province de Québec à la minorité anglophone.
- c) Le véritable rôle fédéral dans le domaine de l'éducation devrait être reconnu tout en ne portant aucunement préjudice à la primauté provinciale dans ce domaine.

3. Une Place pour les Nouveaux Canadiens:

- a) L'aide matérielle et financière à laquelle on peut s'attendre pour le soutien de la vie culturelle du Canada anglais et français, devrait s'étendre aussi pour couvrir d'autres groupements culturels.
- b) Des services gouvernementaux devraient chercher à amortir le choc de l'arrivée pour les immigrants en augmentant le personnel d'interprètes et en prévoyant des formules multilingues où c'est nécessaire. Les agences comme la CBC ont un rôle à jouer en fournissant une sorte de Service International domestique pour présenter le Canada à ceux qui l'ont adopté comme pays.

4. Le Binationalisme et l'Ontario:

En soutenant la Déclaration Nationale d'Objectifs, l'Ontario s'identifierait au principe de l'égalité des deux nations fondatrices, que les Ontariens français ont réclamé.

5. Education:

- a) Des écoles de langue française devraient exister à tous les niveaux là où une demande se manifeste et où la population francophone est suffisamment importante pour les soutenir. Là où la population est moindre et la demande restreinte, une partie des cours dans les écoles existantes devraient être donnés en français, ceci aussi bien pour les étudiants francophones que pour les étudiants anglophones désirant un cours plus poussé.
- b) L'enseignement de la deuxième langue devrait commencer plus tôt. Il devrait avoir comme but primordial le développement de la compréhension entre les deux nations canadiennes.
- c) Les échanges des visites entre étudiants devraient être plus nombreuses et plus variées. Elles devraient couvrir tout le pays.
- d) Le gouvernement provincial devrait rechercher l'aide du Québec pour trouver les professeurs nécessaires pour la demande accrue.

6. Services du Gouvernement Provincial:

- a) Les affaires publiques de la province d'Ontario peuvent être suivies en anglais ou en français. Cela implique que les formulaires à l'intention du public doivent être imprimés dans les deux langues, et que la correspondance et le contact

personnel avec le gouvernement peut être fait en anglais ou en français, et que les publications devraient paraître dans les deux langues.

- b) L'adoption du code international de signalisation routière éliminerait les problèmes linguistiques.
- c) La langue employée dans les cours de justice en Ontario peut être le français ou l'anglais.
- d) Le Gouvernement Provincial devrait entreprendre ce programme par étapes définies, appuyées par la plus grande publicité possible et un programme d'éducation.

7. Un Dénominateur Culturel Commun:

Tout effort pour découvrir une culture iniquement canadienne est basée sur de fausses données. N'importe quelle création dans ce contexte serait artificielle, et les procédés d'une telle création mettraient en danger une certaine unité canadienne qui est apparente dans d'autres dimensions.

8. Les Moyens de Communication Publiques:

- a) La Presse Canadienne devrait être mise en mesure de devenir une agence pour des articles et une analyse des actualités pour ses membres, en vue d'augmenter l'élément canadien dans les journaux canadiens, et de souligner les idées et les principes des Canadiens.
- b) La publication de livres et de magazines devrait être encouragée, afin de développer de nouvelles formes coopératives de propriété et d'appui financier. Des exemples de coopération entre les maisons d'édition françaises et anglaises devraient être aidés et bien accueillis.
- c) Les recommandations de la Commission O'Leary, surtout en ce qui concerne les privilèges postaux, devraient être mises en vigueur, car une forte presse périodique servirait les fins des deux nations, séparément et ensemble.
- d) Le Conseil National du Film devrait être soutenu dans ses entreprises surtout en ce qui concerne la production de grands films non-documentaires pour attirer sur ses oeuvres l'attention critique non seulement du public mondial mais aussi du grand public canadien.

- e) La CBC devrait être soutenue dans sa politique d'extension de ses émissions dans les deux langues à tout le Canada. Pour donner une plus grande priorité au besoin de rendre son public conscient de tout le Canada sur le plan culturel, la Corporation doit tenter de nouveaux procédés techniques afin de faire une contribution efficace à la compréhension. Elle devrait atteindre une plus grande mesure d'indépendance financière.
- f) Afin que la radio-diffusion devienne un service public pour tous les canadiens, elle requiert un rappel de ses responsabilités et cela particulièrement dans le secteur privé. Le Conseil des Gouverneurs de Radio-diffusion doit avoir plus de pouvoirs et la vigueur d'en faire usage.
- g) On devrait établir un fonds pour des buts nationaux afin d'encourager des projets qui promouvraient un Canada bilingue et biculturel. Ce fonds devrait avoir autant d'indépendance politique que possible.

9. Le Biculturalisme et l'Ontario:

Il faudrait établir un Conseil Ontarien des Arts, parmi les buts duquel on compterait le soutien des institutions et entreprises culturelles des Ontariens-français.

10. Le Service Public Fédéral

- a) La création d'un Collège National d'Administration Publique serait un moyen d'instiller aux hauts échelons du service public, avec un minimum de délai et de confusion, à la fois le bilinguisme et un plus haut degré d'efficacité.
- b) L'investigation continue et l'établissement de rapports sur les détails de l'implémentation du bilinguisme dans le service public s'appliqueraient à la fois au personnel des services publics et aux propres services offerts au public.

11. District de la Capitale Fédérale

- a) Un District de la Capitale Fédérale devrait être créé, qui comprendrait les endroits actuellement contenus dans les limites de la Région de la Capitale Nationale, et couvrant les cités d'Ottawa, de Hull et d'Eastview, les villes de Gatineau et de Pointe-Gatineau, et des parties des Comtés de Carleton et de Gatineau qui tombent dans la Région de la Capitale Nationale.

- b) Ce District de la Capitale Fédérale devrait être représenté dans le Parlement du Canada selon sa population, et devrait avoir des pouvoirs de contrôle démocratique sur ses propres affaires dans les limites des pouvoirs accordés aux provinces, et d'une constitution qui saugarderait le caractère biculturel et bilingue du District.

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BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
AND THE
NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ONTARIO
An Interim Report

Desmond Morton
Provincial Office
March, 1965

Introduction

A century ago, as the United States was sliding into the crisis of secession, political parties were among the last institutions in which Northerners and Southerners could work together. They survived the disintegration of fraternal societies, religious denominations and business organizations. When first the Whigs and then the Democrats divided, political power fell to a sectional party. The election of Lincoln and the Republicans was the signal for the Southern states to secede.

Today, Canada faces a comparable crisis. Once again, the resolution of political differences can only come through political solutions, offered by political parties. Although it is only a provincial section of a country-wide party, the New Democratic Party of Ontario has long been aware that it, in common with every other political organization with an interest in the survival of Canada, will have a serious role to play.

The purpose of this paper is to examine what the New Democratic Party of Ontario has been doing both as a policy forming body and as a voluntary organization to meet the challenges now put to Canadians by the crisis of Confederation. It will also point out the difficulties which the Party has encountered in the process.

A Word on Structure

A few comments on the structure of the New Democratic Party of Ontario will be necessary to clarify the following account. The Party consists of about 13,000 regular members in 101 constituency associations across Ontario, and on the other hand, of 150,000 members of affiliated local trade unions. Both groups send delegates to a Provincial Convention, held every other year. The Provincial Convention, the highest policy making body of the Party, elects the Leader, President and other officers of the Party and an Executive of fifteen. Between conventions, the highest authority in the Party is the Provincial Council, composed of a delegate from each riding, delegates from the major affiliated unions and the Provincial Executive. The Council meets about four times in a year.

Policy for the Party is adopted by Conventions and published in an official program. Resolutions on which Convention policy is based are submitted by constituency associations and by local unions. The Provincial Council has also formed committees to examine policy areas and to prepare resolutions to go forward to Convention in its name.

The Party in Ontario is fully autonomous from the federal New Democratic Party in all matters save constitution, but members of the Ontario Party are also members of the federal party and participate directly and indirectly in its conventions as they do in their own provincial body.

The New Democratic Party of Ontario has an annual budget of about \$95,000. It maintains a full-time Provincial Secretary, elected by the Convention, an appointed Assistant Provincial Secretary, four organizers and an office staff of four. It publishes a monthly newspaper in English with a circulation of 11,000.

The Federal Convention Resolution, 1963

The Ontario New Democratic Party was founded at Niagara Falls in October, 1961, a few months after the Founding Convention of the New Democratic Party in Ottawa. In preparation for the second convention of the federal New Democratic Party in Regina in 1963, the Ontario Provincial Council established a number of committees to present resolutions in its name. One of these committees was a Bi-cultural Committee, composed of five Council members, two of whom were French-speaking.

The Bi-cultural Committee adopted a policy statement which attempted to place the national conflict within Canada in an international context. It called on Canada to be a model to the world through a courageous and imaginative solution of its language and cultural struggle. It stated that "Any Canadian who does not have reasonable access to the two languages and the two cultures is being deprived of that which is his right by virtue of being Canadian.

The Committee also submitted a number of resolutions which were¹ adopted, with some amendment, by the Provincial Executive.

The Ontario Committee's resolutions were not, in fact, adopted by the Regina Convention, which preferred to base debate on the resolutions submitted by McGill University New Democrats. The sense of the resolutions on Co-operative Federalism and on Bilingualism and Biculturalism adopted in Regina, however, was in no sense contrary to the spirit of the resolutions submitted by Ontario.

The Brief to the Royal Commission

One clause of the resolution on Federalism and Bi-culturalism adopted in Regina welcomed the appointment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and called on all Canadians to take part in a search for solutions to the problem. At the November, 1963, meeting of the Provincial Council, ways were sought to put this part of the resolution into effect. It was decided to present a brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, presenting both an analysis of the problem and a number of proposed policies to help produce solutions.

The task was passed to the Biculturalism Committee. Its membership was somewhat altered since the previous spring. The Chairman, Mr. Carl Rouleau, a former federal candidate, was forced to withdraw after the organizational meeting because of ill health, and responsibility passed to Mr. Des Sparham, another former federal candidate and Executive Secretary of Exchange for Political Ideas in Canada. The work of the Committee was defined as providing answers to the questions posed by Mr. Davidson Dunton in the opening session of the Royal Commission and the task was divided among a number of sub-committees. A major effort was made by the Committee to draw in party members with a special interest and concern in the field. It was disconcerting, if flattering, to discover that a number of potential contributors had been already involved by the Commission in its research program.

1. c.f. Appendix "A"

The work of the Committee was initially hampered by the very early deadline for the submission of briefs. As a body of volunteers, trying to co-ordinate work across the breadth of a very large province, it proved impossible to get material collated in time. The extension of the deadline by the Commission to July was therefore most welcome. There was also a responsibility for developing interest and support within the membership of the Party. Committee members felt that the resolutions adopted by both federal conventions of the Party had been neither understood nor accepted by the mass of members, who continued to support the Party in spite of rather than because of its policies on bilingualism and biculturalism. A survey of opinion of members of the Provincial Council and of ordinary members, conducted by mail and by the Party newspaper tended to confirm this suspicion. On the other hand, when members of the Committee spoke to individual riding associations and to the Provincial Council, they found a wide readiness to listen to new ideas and, in large measure, to alter old suspicions in the light of new evidence.

The draft brief was submitted to the Provincial Executive on May 9th. After a number of amendments were adopted, the brief was accepted for submission to the Royal Commission. Since the brief had been drafted and presented to the Executive in English, it was proposed to translate it into French. However, when the lowest fee for translation was discovered to be \$700, only the section devoted to recommendations was translated.

There was a further delay in presentation until there had been consultation with both the federal executive and caucus of the New Democratic Party. Some small amendments were accepted from these consultations but it was also agreed that the brief was the presentation of the New Democratic Party of Ontario alone.

A Concern for Confederation

The process of arousing concern for the new state of Confederation was carried outside the Party by the Provincial Leader, Donald C. MacDonald M.P.P., who devoted a considerable proportion of his speeches in reply

to the Speech from the Throne in both 1964 and 1965 to what he described as the need for "re-confederation". Ontario, as the strongest voice of English-speaking Canada, would have a major role in shaping the attitude of the Canadian minority to the problems and challenge of bilingualism and biculturalism.

Ken Bryden, on February 17th, 1965, followed his Provincial Leader by filing a resolution calling for the recognition of both French and English in the legislature and courts of Ontario. This was the strongest possible step which an opposition party could take in implementing the principles which had been worked out by the Ontario Party both in the resolution it submitted to the Regina Convention in 1963 and in the Brief presented to the Royal Commission in the summer of 1964.

Practical Internal Steps

The New Democratic Party of Ontario can best be described as a voluntary organization, committed to certain political principles and with the practical purpose of electing members to both the House of Commons in Ottawa and to the Ontario Legislature in Toronto. Its organization must be designed to service and assist the members it has gained and to foster electoral activity in the areas of greatest potential growth. As a practical example, since the strongest associations and the greatest possibilities for electoral growth are now in urban areas, pragmatic considerations favour the use of limited resources in contacting Italian, Portuguese and Greek groups in the major cities, which have already proven receptive to the Party philosophy.

The fact is, of course, that practical electoral considerations have not been dominant. The Ontario Party has made an effort to attract French-speaking support which has been disproportionate to the effort made to attract other language groups, even when these groups have appeared both more numerous and more sympathetic than the Franco-Ontarians. There is no evidence that the Party will reconsider this emphasis.

Some of the practical steps seem trivial but their intention is to have a cumulative effect. All correspondence is conducted under bilingual letterhead. All membership application forms are bilingual. Thirteen riding associations with substantial French-speaking populations are regularly supplied with the French language newspaper produced by the Quebec section of the Party.

The Practical Difficulties

No one would suggest that the foregoing statements, pronouncements or practical steps are enough. Yet, before the Ontario Party is condemned for hypocrisy, some account should be taken of the practical difficulties involved.

The most significant is the lack of French-speaking Canadians willing to take an active part in the Party. This is not an appeal for sympathy. It is an appeal for understanding of the problems of voluntary organizations which want to be bilingual and bicultural but which, for one reason or another, cannot attract the support of French-speaking Canadians. The Ontario New Democratic Party depends on volunteers for the bulk of its work of organization and publicity. When French-speaking volunteers are not forthcoming, the work tends to be done in English. Since the Party is financed by its members and supporters, publications tend to be issued in the language which the bulk of these supporters read and understand.

At the 1962 Provincial Convention, there was criticism that simultaneous translation was not provided. The criticism was justified in principle. However, the proposal was not made with much consideration of the practical justification for providing such enormously expensive facilities for a meeting of over 800, only thirteen of whom claimed French as a first language.

A political party is also committed to gaining support for its policies in a wider community. When Ken Bryden made his proposal of an equal status for French and English in the Ontario legislature and courts, the response was generally hostile and even vituperative. An editorial in the Toronto Telegram described his proposal as "cheap

politicking ... a play to the gallery". It concluded its editorial with the recommendation that the suggestion should be "laughed out of court". It remains a question as to what gallery Mr. Bryden was in fact addressing. He sits as member for an East Toronto riding with a predominantly Anglo-Saxon population. His fellow New Democrat M.P.s. also all represent constituencies in which the majority of voters are Anglo-Saxon in origin and in which French-speaking voters can hardly be found.

In Conclusion

This report has been an account of how a provincial political party has faced the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism and of the problems it has encountered. Few Ontario New Democrats will survey this record in any mood of self-congratulation. There is a persistent feeling that many ordinary members and a vastly greater proportion of the general public remain opposed to the transformation which English Canadians in particular must face if Canada is to survive. There is a concern about the lack of contact within and outside the Party with French Canadians. Finally, there is a sincere desire to overcome practical problems of translation and communication in a voluntary, low budget organization.

New Democrats share these problems with other political parties. They can therefore welcome the publication of the interim report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. They can look forward to the further reports of the Commission with increased anticipation.

RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BY THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE
OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ONTARIO TO THE
FEDERAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
REGINA, 1963

Whereas the Founding Convention of the New Democratic Party affirmed its faith in the concept of two nations in a co-operative federalism as the basis of a united Canada

And whereas it is the right of each Canadian to have access to the language and culture of his country

And whereas the preservation of Confederation to which this party stands committed depends on the fulfillment of these rights

Therefore be it resolved:

1. That a New Democratic government would offer the necessary financial co-operation to enable each province to provide facilities both for children and for adults to acquire an understanding of the French and English languages.
2. That our national symbols, such as the flag and the anthem, reflect our bi-national character rather than imply allegiance to one culture alone.
3. That the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation be supplied with the necessary funds for the establishment of complete French and English coverage in broadcasting throughout the nation.
4. That the federal government adopt specific measures to achieve a fully bilingual Public Service throughout Canada.
5. That this convention recommend to all provincial executives of the New Democratic Party that standing committees be set up in their provincial organizations to study means of advancing bi-culturalism and bilingualism in their provinces and to bring specific proposals to this end before their next provincial convention.

Whereas Canada is approaching her second century as an independent state and whereas her needs and aspirations have been transformed in the century since her birth, be it resolved:

6. That a New Democratic Government would call a Centennial Convention to devise means of bringing to Canada the right to amend her constitution and to relate that constitution to the needs of the coming century

Whereas a genuine federalism depends on the ability of the provinces to finance their responsibilities, so far as is possible from their own tax resources, be it resolved:

7. That federal aid to the provinces be based on non-conditional equalization payments.

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TITLE: "A Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism"

AUTHOR: New Democratic Party of Ontario

Brief of 42 pages; 29 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This brief is far-reaching and touches, in some detail, on every area of concern to the Commission. It is devoid of partisanship.

"If English Canadians will not concede rights and status to others which in no way reduce their own, Confederation can only continue on a basis of naked majority rule. If the fears of French Canada cannot be allayed by a co-national declaration of principle and by conscientious efforts to give that principle a nationwide application, then Confederation cannot last. If provincial governments cannot see a need for a wider loyalty than to themselves, Confederation does not exist now..." (Page 36 - This comment on the last recommendation of the brief presents its general theme in a nutshell).

The 'Introduction' and 'Summary of Recommendations' are provided in French and English.

ATT.: RESEARCH

- Page 4 et seq. Discussion of "bilingualism"
- Pages 37 - 40 (Recommendations) No estimate of the cost of the extensive action recommended to the Federal Government is given.
- Pages 18 et seq. Can the effects of "anti-Americanism" on the Canadian identity be estimated or analysed?
- Page 28 How feasible is the proposed Arts Council for Ontario? What would be its cost to the government of that province?
- Page 32 et seq. Is the experience of the Ecole Nationale de l'Administration adaptable to Canada's Civil Service?
- See appendix "Report on Bicultural Questionnaire".

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SUMMARY:

"I A Concept of Two Nations"

Pages 1 - 4

It is not necessary for nations to set up their own governments as sovereign in all respects although they must feel able to establish them on a basis of complete sovereignty.

Canada emerged to defend the political and economic opportunities of the English-speaking community and the cultural position of the French-speaking community. Thus, the French community felt its freedom of action subject to dangers within Canada.

English Canada's nationalism is but an incipient reaction to the demands of French Canada and often English Canada has taken steps quite unconscious of the nationalist reaction which they would cause in Quebec.

Other ethnic groups are not in a position to set up governments for themselves; on the other hand, the philosophy of the "melting pot" is not applicable to them. It is a problem here of individuals within a state and since French Canadians were not treated equally as individuals in the past, they now express their desire for self-preservation as a community. French Canadians, however need not defend their position as a nation.

Quebec in 1867 was given the power to defend the French Canadian community.

Cultural and economic affairs are now harder to keep apart. The economic revival of Quebec has not eased tensions. Quebec's interests are basically in defence of a cultural position whereas Canada's are economic and political independence.

French Canadian nationalism may be inevitable, although not necessarily a separate sovereign government. What must be avoided is the creation of a conscious English Canadian nation.

"II The Notion of Bilingualism"

Pages 4 - 7

This term suffers from semantic confusion. That presently in question is "co-existence of the two languages of the two founding nations. It requires that both English and French speaking Canadians must feel secure in their language rights".

(Page 5) "One might almost call it co-lingualism". (Ibid)

If, because of demographic factors, no Canadians must be bilingual, there are many who should be, e.g. senior federal civil servants.

Learned societies and charitable organizations should face the problem rather than evade it.

-Recommendations

"III An Appropriate Constitutional Framework"

Pages 7 - 10

The B.N.A. Act itself is beyond the scope of this brief, but seems hardly to fulfill even the most generous definition of a Canadian constitution.

Some steps can be taken, such as a Federal-Provincial Bill of Rights, a statement of our national purpose and national equality.

The Fathers of Confederation were not hesitant in guaranteeing French and English minority rights; where now necessary these should be generously extended.

The legal demise of Section 93 has left education exclusively to the provinces. Protection of the part (in Quebec) has been at the expense of the rest; Quebec's treatment of its English minority has not been imitated elsewhere. The Federal Government is already involved in education 'de facto', not 'de jure'. Its participation should be explicit.

Recommendations.

" IV A Place for the New Canadians"

Pages 10 - 13

In any event, expression of ethnic cultures should be encouraged. Where a group has only its language, social forces cause differences to disappear; this process should not be encouraged.

There is a role for the CBC, particularly in the metropolitan areas, in informing New Canadians about their country. Ethnic cultural groups should receive government assistance.

There should be no concern over these groups seeking political expression in a state.

Universities should be encouraged to establish institutes, schools and departments for the study of other national, racial and religious groups. Leaders, scholars and writers from the "Third Canada" would find a proper role as Canada's international interests grow.

Groups establishing part-time schools to teach their language have a claim to public assistance due to cultural activities.

Recent arrivals should feel free to correspond with senior levels of government in their own language with a reasonable understanding that they will be understood.

-Recommendations.

"V A Place for Two Nations In Ontario"

Pages 13 - 15

The major powers affecting bilingualism and biculturalism are held by the provinces.

In Ontario 425,302 French Canadians are submerged in a majority of well over six million English speaking Canadians. Their rights are guaranteed only in Quebec; elsewhere they must plead and fight. In principle a French Canadian in Ontario should be as much at home as an English Canadian.

-Recommendation.

"VI Education as the Path to Biculturalism"

Pages 15 - 17

In Ontario, education should be based upon two principles:

- 1) The French Canadian must be offered as full a potential development of his culture as is the English Canadian.
- 2) Both must have sufficient opportunity to acquire the other language and an appreciation of its culture.

Certain practical steps are possible: where the French-speaking population is large, tuition should be in French, save for other languages, as should examinations; elsewhere a proportion of the classes in each grade could be taught in French. This should begin in the earliest grades.

Programmes such as that of "Visites Interprovinciales" should be encouraged.

-Recommendations.

"VII Bilingualism and the Provincial Government"

Pages 17 - 18

Achievements in practice will follow the principles perhaps haltingly; there must be negotiation and compromise.

Forms submitted by Ontarians to the government should be in French and English since signatures are required. Public servants in French-

concentrated areas should be able to deal with a French-speaking public. Traffic signs should follow the International system.

The Provincial government must undertake such a programme in combination with a campaign of information and education, working in phases and publicizing its intentions.

-Recommendations.

"VIII Two Cultures and a Search for a Common Denominator" Pages 18 - 20

Anti-Americanism, which is not a desirable emotion, has not led to unity in Canada, to an attempt by English Canadians to understand French Canadians and vice-versa.

French Canada has had little opportunity to influence the thinking of English Canada.

Although Canada has an economically privileged class of highly cultivated tastes no class can serve the cultural role of bridging the gulf.

In the result, there is no Canadian identity, nor can one be created artificially.

-Recommendation.

"IX Two Cultures and the Mass Media" Pages 20 - 28

The mass media have two responsibilities: to provide adequate means of expression for each national culture across Canada; to bring to all Canadians an awareness of the contributions of both cultural groups. The meeting of these responsibilities presupposes strong, healthy and diversified mass media, which perhaps could be promoted by the device of cooperative ownership.

Newspapers are a local industry and Canadian Press is dependent on the support of contributing papers and has only limited news gathering resources.

An independent fund, established to further biculturalism and bilingualism, could make a major contribution. Formats such as "Weekend Magazine/Perspectives" could be used.

Book publishing is still a hazardous business in Canada although the recent development of paperback publishing in Quebec is an exception. The same is largely true of magazines.

The O'Leary Commission recommendations were of great value to both Canadian cultures.

There are more films produced annually in Canada than there are books published. The National Film Board must begin to move out of the exclusively documentary field.

The C.B.C. has a high record of achievement which no commercial, private concern can hope to equal.

The Corporation has been slower in meeting its responsibility to bring the two Canadian cultures into some degree of interchange. Canadians need to be reminded of the existence of the other group whose programmes should be adapted for them.

The C.B.C.'s role might be essentially political as well as cultural, but it should be free from partisan politics. "Either Parliament should restore the CBC as the guiding force in Canadian broadcasting or give the Board of Broadcast Governors the power to make the airwaves a vital national utility rather than a lucrative source of private profit in monopoly conditions". Bilingual projects should be financed by a "Fund for the National purpose".

- Recommendations

"X Biculturalism in Ontario"

Page 28

The NDP urges the establishment of an Ontario Arts Council, working with the Canada Council. The Council would have a role in fostering the cultural activities of Franco-Ontarians.

-Recommendation

"XI A Binational Public Service for Canada"

Pages 28-34

Although the gulf between principle and practice appears enormous, there are two aspects to this problem: the need to provide government and services in two languages without discrimination and the need to make service in the government a career of equal attraction to both groups.

More and better paid translators, better design of bilingual forms, more efficient printing and other measures would yield better service.

The establishment of a truly bi-national public service would provide a better focus for Canadian solidarity and eliminate bitter division.

-Public Accounts Committee Report (1961) of 5,000 civil servants, salaried in excess of \$8,000.00, only 600 are French speaking.

A patronage approach to creating a bilingual civil service has resulted in deep, bitter and irrational suspicion in the minds of English-speaking members.

Recruiting has long been the major difficulty since the allure of security does not offset lower salaries.

A National College of Public Administration should be established on the model of the Ecole Nationale de l'Administration in Paris. Some difficulties would be encountered, and adaptations would be necessary, but the result would more than justify the effort.

Investigations of means of advancing bilingualism in the civil service should be constant and the results published.

The seemingly insoluble problem is that of the unilingual French Canadian. The only possibility would be establishment of French-speaking departmental sections.

-Recommendations

"XII A Federal Capital District"

Pages 34 - 37

Unlike other federal capitals, Ottawa has not been neutral ground, although it has always retained a biracial character. It is a focal point of the struggle of French Canadians outside Quebec against assimilation and serves, at the same time, as an example of the general economic inferiority of French Canadians.

A national capital must serve more than its residents. Ottawa and Hull must be more than larger cities of their respective provinces.

The mistakes made in other federal districts can be avoided, such as suburbanization outside the district, and denial of participation in political affairs of its residents.

The objections which might be raised to this idea are roughly the same as those which would be expressed against any proposal to equalize the relations between our two founding races.

-Recommendations.

BACKGROUND PAPERS

(A1 Z1)

Brief #: 750-501

New Democratic
Party of OntarioTORONTOA. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION1. MEMBERSHIP

12,000 plus (Ontario party membership)

2. OBJECTIVES

"The Provincial Party will unite progressive people and organizations into a party democratically controlled and openly financed by the membership. It will with all resources at its command establish the policies and programme on a provincial level of the New Democratic Party of Canada. It will endeavour to establish in this province a government whose objectives shall be to substitute economic planning for irresponsible control and thereby to give maximum opportunity for public cooperative and private enterprise to contribute to the development of our province." (from the NDP Ontario Constitution).

3. PREPARATION OF THE BRIEF

Bicultural Committee of N.D.P. of Ontario, under chairmanship of Desmond Morton, prepared brief. Assistance was given by Prof. Trevor Lloyd of the Department of History, University of Toronto. The brief was approved by Provincial Executive and accepted in principle by Provincial Council. A "bicultural questionnaire" was used in connection with preparing the brief but the survey was not "scientific". The questionnaire was submitted to all members of the Provincial Council of the N.D.P. most of whom replied. It was also published in "The New Democrat" the N.D.P. of Ontario Magazine and replies were invited. Only 179 replies were received.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)Questions

(ref. p.3, bottom)

"... it remains true that the basis of French Canadian nationalism is the desire to defend a cultural position, and this means that a clash with the wider nation of Canada which is based on the desire for economic and political independence is not inevitable". Clarify, please?

(ref. p.4 para.2)

Some have suggested that English-speaking Canadians need a greater "consciousness" or awareness of this culture. What harm do you envisage when you suggest that the creation of a "conscious English Canadian nation" should be avoided?

(ref. p.5 l.4)

..."Its (French Canada) campaign has been interpreted by the English ... as a demand that English Canadians be required to become fluent in French". To whom do you

refer by the term "the English" in this passage? All? some? who?

(ref. p.5 para.2)

In discussing bilingualism, you mention "the responsibility" of English Canadians "for making this aspect of Canadian unity work". On what precisely, do you consider this responsibility rests?

(ref. p.8 - bottom half of page)

..." Canada will survive as partnership of two nations" but further.." elements of the English cultural majority.. in working for a national unity, ...have left a deeper bi-national? division." But cf. p.10 Recommendation 1 1.2 - "affirming the bi-national character"?

(ref. p. 17 - 1.9-10)

General "common goals", and a general principle might be possible. What problems do you see in becoming more specific and precise in setting out aims and practices?

(ref. p.10 Rec.#3)

Would you enunciate what you understand, briefly, to be "the real federal role" in education?

Re: Declaration of National Purpose. (p. 10 Rec. #1; p. 12 para.2)

Would you see this type of Document or Declaration as superior or preferable, to say the President's (U.S.) Committee on National goals, or some approach which would allow a repeated "assessment" of goals (general & specific) every ten years or so? (The American "Goals" were broken down into various fields - economic, educational, political, cultural, etc.)

p.13

The area of "physical and financial assistance (government)" for supporting the cultural life of groups in Canada - Questions re"state and culture".

(p.14 para.3)

..."Correspondingly, among many English-speaking Canadians, there is arising a new concept of Canadianism".
(? - what is that concept?)

cf.p.20 Recommendation -

"Any attempt to discover a Canadian culture based on false premise".

(p.15 para.1 Rec.1)

In practice, what would this entail for the Province? (Ontario identifying itself with the principle of equality as per a Declaration of National Purpose)

p.16 Re .1

Do you feel that public opinion in those areas likely to be affected (in Ontario) is prepared to accept this kind of change?

(ref. Biculturalism in Ontario p.28 "X")

Urges establishment of Ontario Arts Council

- How formed? Government? How supported? How function? In each province? Relations to Canada Council?

(p.32) Ref. National College of Public Administration
What of these in special areas - economics etc. and the "course"? - would they enter at certain higher levels (to the Civil Service in appropriate Depts.?) would special aspects be stressed at such a College depending upon the Branches of the Service to which they applied or are assigned?

C. RESEARCH SECTION

1. Although the NDP has been the most consistent of the federal parties in examining questions of bilingualism and biculturalism, their present position has only been reached by a fairly difficult evolution of policies and recommendations.

This evolution involved the formulation of the policy of "Cooperative Federalism" and the formal recognition of a French Canadian nation (August, 1961), a call for a "Federal-Provincial Commission on Federalism and Biculturalism" (February, 1962), a proposal for a "Confederation Council" (February, 1963) and the setting up of an internal "Bicultural-Council" as part of the N.D.P. federal structure (August, 1963). The latest development (February, 1965) consisted of a recommendation for an all-party parliamentary committee to examine problems in the field of Dominion-Provincial relations, as well as the setting up of provincial "Confederation conferences" to examine problems of constitutional amendment. The rationale behind this latest proposal was to place the matter into the hands of the "elected representatives of the people" rather than allow it to remain in the hands of Royal Commissions.

2. The Ontario N.D.P. is the only provincial New Democratic Party which has a Bicultural Committee and submitted this brief independently of the federal party. Article X of the N.D.P. Constitution allows independent action by its provincial parties as long as such action is not inconsistent with federal party policy. There is little comment on the bulk of the brief or the ten areas in which recommendations were proposed. However, attention is drawn to the efficacy of such concepts as the "Third Canada" (p.12)

3. Points are also raised by the interesting "Bicultural Questionnaire" - Appendix "A". Although it is stated that copies of the questionnaire were circulated to all Ontario ridings, it does not state the size of the sample or the number of failures to reply. If the intention of the questionnaire was to "determine the knowledge and feeling" displayed by Ontario New Democrats towards bilingual and bicultural issues, the percentage that failed to report is a significant index. In addition it would be interesting to find out to what extent the drafts of the Ontario N.D.P. brief, based their findings and recommendations on the results of this questionnaire.

XII. A Federal Capital District

This section constitutes a carefully researched and well conceived analysis of the national capital problem in Canada. Do you believe that a municipal administration sympathetic to the city's French Canadian population and aware of its unique position as seat of government could fill the national capital requirements in such a way that more fundamental change in the realm of municipal government would become unnecessary? (See p. 35, first 3 lines).

The brief mentions the necessity for home rule in any federal capital district (see p. 36, second paragraph). In precise terms what are the means by which you believe such a state could be brought about? That is, how can effective and thorough federal control be coupled with significant measures of local autonomy? The brief, in the second recommendation re the federal capital district, appears to suggest that the district assume the status of a province with a federal constitution ensuring bilingualism and biculturalism. Is this what is meant? Are the logical concomitants of such a step (eg., political parties and a "provincial" legislature) acceptable to you? Can you not suggest any other alternative?

(A13)
- 100 -

BRIEF TO ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

Mr. S.J. Neville, B.S.A.,
508 Bronson Avenue,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

November 12, 1963

SEE 109/102
10
11
12

1. Having passed twenty-five years in Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, I joined the Civil Service and spent much of the time travelling throughout the southern half of the Province, with side excursions into Alberta, Manitoba, and Minnesota, so I obtained a fair knowledge of Canadian and New Canadian regions and admixtures on the Prairies.
2. After three years service with the Winnipeg Rifles I was accepted into the Dominion Service and settled in Ottawa. From there were trips across Ontario and into Quebec and bits of the U.S.A.
3. Eight of our ten Provinces have no occasion for bilingualism. In the west I visited two small French-speaking enclaves: - St. Boniface suburb of Winnipeg, and Montmartre, a small town south-east of Regina.
4. At Montmartre, after doing business with the Town Clerk and Municipal Secretary and others, I fell in with a young priest. He said: - "The people in town, they Old Country French, the people in country, they Canadien. Country people fight town people, town people fight country people. Mr. Boyer (the Town Clerk), he English, they all fight him. I been in Canada one month, wish I was back in France".
5. Even in a tight little French-speaking community there was no cohesion between Canadien and New-Canadian, so how can we expect them to blend with other peoples? They have no wish to.
6. By contrast, down South of Swift Current I was guest in a comfortable Norwegian home of three generations. I noticed that none of the younger children spoke English, while the young folk spoke it perfectly. I asked the grandfather why? He replied, in effect:- "We do not let the children speak English until they go to school, for from us they learn wrong. At school they learn right. They will be good Canadians".
7. In German communities there is more tendency to remain German, but the second generation move away from it. There is more German

and Scandinavian, even Polish, culture than French on the Prairies, and all are desirous of being Canadian like the rest of us.

8. The same is the case in Ottawa. On a bus travelling uptown from the School of Commerce there were many New Canadian students from the classes in English. A French-Canadian Queried a German:- "Why are you people so anxious to learn English? Why not French"? The German replied:- "This is a British country, that is why we came. We need English, and have no use for French."

9. In a predominantly English-speaking suburb where we lived for six years, we found that in the R.C. Church five minutes of the service is in English, the rest in Latin or French. In Quebec and its outskirts Eastern Ontario and New Brunswick, the French Catholics use Church as a lever to disseminate French culture and population, or the Church uses the French, take it one way or the other. In effect, the English-speaking Catholics are held at a disadvantage. Wherever the French can expand there is no fair play.

10. Whatever French is taught in schools in eight provinces is usually lost sight of and forgotten. To expect persons from these provinces who come to the Dominion Civil Service to learn and use French, is to expect, in the meajority of cases, the impossible. Any move toward bilingualism is all to the advantage of the Quebecoise, discriminating against all of Canada West of Kingston and beyond New Brunswick.

11. As for French culture, it is good in its place, for its literary values. In my student days, fifty years ago, science students were all for German, now the tendency is toward Russian as well; and for those who look forward to careers in South America, the Spanish. Not much French, except in Laval or Montreal Universities, and students from these institutions who enter the Civil Service are at a disadvantage, because that throughout thier education, from the primary level upward, too much time has been spent on non-essentials.

12. I submit, sirs, that Canada is a British country, that non-French immigrants come here largely because it is so, and because we have the same democracy that is held sacred in all of the English-speaking world;

that there is no reason or use for the French brand of "bilingualism" except as specified in the B.N.A.Act: - in Parliament, in Quebec Province, in the courts.

TITLE:

AUTHOR: Mr. S. J. Neville, B.S.A.,
508 Bronson Avenue,
Ottawa 4, Ont.

Brief of ...3..... pages ;recommendation(s)

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

Due to its brevity, the brief has not been summarized.

Thesis: Canada is a British country. No use for the French language except in Parliament, Quebec Province and in the courts. To implement Bilingualism "would be unrealistic and discriminating against all of Canada west of Kingston and beyond New Brunswick.

ATT.: RESEARCH

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CA121

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Mr. S. J. Neville

OTTAWA

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

- a) Lived for 25 years in Assiniboia and Saskatchewan.
- b) Travelled extensively through Prairie Provinces, Minnesota, Ontario and Quebec.
- c) Three years service with the Winnipeg Rifles.
- d) Now with Federal Civil Service.

B. RESEARCH SECTION: NOTES AND COMMENTS

No comment

C. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

1. RESEARCH SECTION

(see Section B. above)

2. PROGRAM AND LIAISON SECTION

- p.1
para. 3 (1) You have stated that 8 of our 10 provinces have no occasion for bilingualism which are the two provinces you except?
- p.1
para. 5 (2) Speaking of Montmartre - "... even in a tight little French-speaking community there was no cohesion between Canadien and New Canadians".
 - a) How and why did you get this impression?
 - b) To whom do you refer in the sentence "... so how can we expect them to blend with other people?"
- p.1-2
paras. 6
7-8 (3) With reference to the examples of cultural contribution of New Canadians - is there really a comparison, historically, of the effects of French and, say, Norwegian culture on the development of Canadian culture?
- p.2
para.10 (4) Ref. "bilingualism and discrimination"...
 - a) Do you mean that the knowledge of two or three languages would be "discriminating against a person learning those languages"?
 - b) If so, do you believe a citizen, say of Switzerland who speaks the three official languages of his country is being discriminating against? If so, by whom?

CA 131

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BRIEF

on

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN CANADA

to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

submitted by

THE NETHERLANDS CANADA CULTURAL COUNCIL

Correspondence Address:

409 Newton Ave., Winnipeg 5, Man.

May, 1964

P r e a m b l e

We, The Netherlands Canada Cultural Council, comprising a substantial proportion of the Dutch ethnic group in Manitoba, are grateful for the opportunity to express our views on the linguistic and cultural problems facing Canada today. We were in the fortunate position to be able to study many of the briefs submitted previously by other organizations and individuals. Following this study, it was decided to avoid repeating the views and observations expressed by others and to concentrate on those suggestions or recommendations which we feel have received inadequate or no attention to date.

We realize that the present controversy with respect to bilingualism and biculturalism is basically economic, political and religious in nature. However, we will attempt to avoid venturing into these fields lest we violate the constitutional limitations which The Netherlands Canada Cultural Council has set itself. This submission will, perforce, be superficial and incomplete; but we hope to express a few views about which we feel strongly.

L a n g u a g e

For a positive approach to the issue of bilingualism and biculturalism, we should regard Canada as one nation and wish it to remain so.

A continually strengthening unity within this country should be desired and sought by all and we would like to suggest a few measures which might bring Canada closer to this goal.

The greatest bond - the fundamental and essential one - is the possibility of communicating and, therefore, of understanding and appreciating. Communication fails when people do not understand each other's language. It seems obvious that one must have some knowledge at least of the language of one's neighbors. It broadens one's horizons in that it makes one acutely aware of the value of other languages, each with their own peculiarities and means of expression, each representative of their own rich cultural backgrounds.

Since to most Dutch it seems obvious that they cannot expect others to learn a minority language such as theirs, they have always tried to acquaint themselves with the recognized world languages. Although precise percentages are not available, it is estimated that in The Netherlands in 1958, approximately 85 per cent of the 13 to 15 years age group were receiving some instruction in English, French and German as well as extensive instruction in Dutch; about 50 per cent of the 16-year-olds were receiving further instruction in these languages; and 15.5 per cent of all students (up to 19 years of age) were

receiving instruction in these languages at a very advanced level, including a small percentage receiving instruction in Latin and Greek as well. ¹⁾

We are convinced that a great obstacle to unity within Canada would be overcome if all residents had a working knowledge of the two main languages, English and French. That both languages happen to be world languages of prime importance can only serve as an added incentive to study them.

Therefore, we would like to advocate compulsory teaching of French from Grade I on in all schools in areas of the country where English is the predominant official language. In the same way, we would like to see compulsory teaching of English from Grade I on in all schools in areas of the country where French is the predominant official language. In English-speaking areas the language of instruction should be English, while in French-speaking areas the language of instruction should be French.

We feel, however, that it is very important to safeguard the possibility of optional instruction of any other language, provided an explicit desire for such instruction has been expressed by an adequate

¹⁾ Compare: 'Dutch School System', a brochure published by the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences of The Netherlands in 1960.

number of individuals, warranting the cost and effort involved in the establishment of such optional courses.

This is not a vain goal. The Netherlands is not the only country where more than one language is being studied successfully at various levels of the educational system, by students from diverse backgrounds intending to pursue careers in many diverse areas of employment.

Prof. W.F. Mackey states, "...in many countries the mastery of a second language is an indispensable part of education."²) Surely, Canada's potential is no less than that of other countries.

C u l t u r e

Looking beyond the language and contemplating the cultural pattern of Canada, we suggest that the term "biculturalism" is an unfortunate one. We agree with those who prefer to speak of "dualism", referring to the main traditions - English and French - which dominate the Canadian culture. These traditions should be studied both historically and with a view to the contemporary scene. As the two main components of Canada today, they both contribute toward the building of one nation.

²) Mackey, W.F., 'Bilingualism'; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1963; Vol. 3, p. 610.

The interdependence of language and culture cannot be overemphasized; studying the one involves penetrating the other.

As a logical consequence of the argument presented under the heading 'Language', we recommend that a sound study of both main cultural streams - English and French - be introduced in Canadian schools. All young Canadians should be equally acquainted with an unbiased account of this country's factual history.

The promotion of greater understanding in this area should not be restricted to the schools. We therefore further recommend both publicly and privately sponsored cultural exchanges on a large scale (including theatre, music, art and other cultural media of importance).

We also believe that the real and important contributions to the establishment and development of the overall cultural pattern of Canada made by the so-called minority groups must not be overlooked. This 'third group'³⁾ of Canadians, comprising those with a mother tongue other than English or French, must retain the freedom to promote

³⁾ According to the working paper provided by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism - page 5 - this group constituted in 1961, 14 per cent of the Canadian population, not - as some have indicated - one-third of the total Canadian population.

their own cultural heritage. In so far as these cultural contributions can be considered to enrich the Canadian culture as a whole, they should receive the same official recognition as comparable expressions of the English and French cultures.

Canada enjoys the exceptional position of being able to draw upon the resources of many great and rich cultures. It can only benefit by doing so freely and unremittingly.

The following are the recommendations we particularly want to emphasize:

1. that Canadian unity be regarded as the ultimate goal serving the best interest of this country;
2. (a) that, starting at the Grade I level, compulsory teaching of French be introduced in all schools in the English-speaking areas and compulsory teaching of English be introduced in all schools in the French-speaking areas; and (b) that English and French be the teaching media in the respective areas;
3. that greater attention be given to the teaching of historical facts;
4. that extensive cultural exchanges in Canada be undertaken; and
5. that minority groups be given the opportunity to promote their languages and receive official recognition of those cultural expressions which benefit the country as a whole.

In concluding, we would like to state again that a concerted effort should be made by the Canadian people as a whole to reach a fuller understanding and appreciation of its major components. We sincerely hope that the above, comprising some of the ideas and considerations prominent among the members of the Netherlands Canada Cultural Council, may be accepted as having this aim in view.

Respectfully submitted by:

THE NETHERLANDS CANADA CULTURAL COUNCIL

May, 1964

(A) 21
1101

TITLE: Brief of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada.
AUTHOR: The Netherlands Canada Cultural Council.

Brief of 7 pages; 5 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This short brief is moderate in tone. Having studied a number of submissions to the Commission, this Council concentrates on certain recommendations which, they feel, have "received inadequate or no attention to date. . .".

ATT.: RESEARCH

% of Dutch students in Holland who receive some instruction in French, English and German p. 2

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By: The Netherlands Canada Cultural Council

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Summary: "The Netherlands Cultural Council" comprises "a substantial proportion of the Dutch ethnic group in Manitoba."

Language: (pp. 1-4)

- Canada is one nation and should remain so; therefore, the unity of the country should be strengthened. The fundamental bond is communication and so it seems obvious that one should know one's neighbor's language.

- The Dutch have always known that being a small people, they had to familiarize themselves with world languages.

- In the Netherlands in 1958, it was estimated that 85% of the 13 to 15 years of age group received some instruction in French, English and German as well as in Dutch. Fifty percent of the 16 year-olds were furthering their studies in these languages, and 15.5% of all students up to 19 years were instructed in these languages at an advanced level.

- To achieve unity in Canada both groups must have a working knowledge of the two main languages.

- The goal is not a vain one and the Netherlands is not the only country where more than one language is studied.

Culture. (pp. 4-6)

- The Council prefers the wording "dualism" to "biculturalism". The traditions of both groups should be studied historically and with a view to the contemporary scene. Language and culture are interdependent.

- "The promotion of greater understanding should not be restricted to the schools".

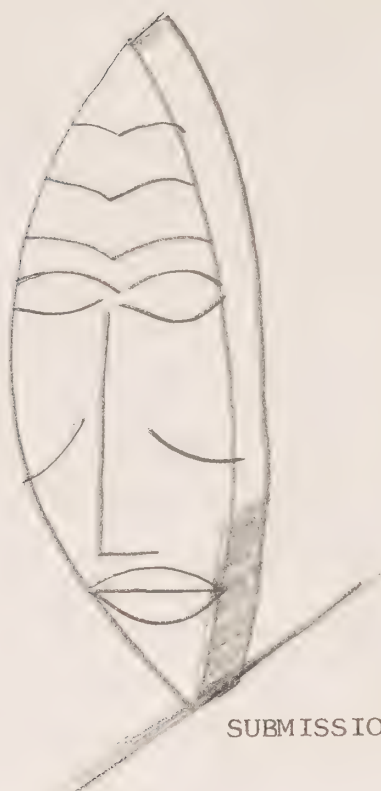
- There should be a development of cultural exchanges between the English, the French and the other ethnic groups. All groups should retain "the freedom to promote their own cultural heritage with equal official recognition".

Conclusion (p. 7)

- A concerted effort should be made by Canadians to understand and appreciate the major cultural components of their country.

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740-304



SUBMISSION

TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

by J. GORDON NELLES



Como, Quebec, August 1965

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III

SUMMARY

This Submission is a brief study of the attitudes and aspirations of the three main groups of people in Canada, the French-speaking, the English-speaking and the other ethnic or linguistic groups, in relation to their backgrounds outside Canada, their development in Canada and their places in a bicultural and bilingual confederation.

The study attempts to provide evidence and argument for the following contentions:

the hearings and work of this Royal Commission have provoked thought and study throughout Canada on the problems of Canadian unity on a scale never before seen and at a critical time when the emergence of Quebec as a dynamic, cohesive unit make examination of the problems imperative;

Quebec has set its face against the isolation of the past and has embarked on a system of mass education;

my personal experience in working in the French-English milieu is that there is no inherent difficulty in cooperation between the two races and that most frictions are caused by different educational levels and not by race;

a source of friction is the small degree of bilingualism particularly among the English-speaking element;

fluent bilingualism is not necessary, though advantageous, for all Canadians, but both French and English should be taught in all schools;

Ottawa should be an officially bilingual capital and all Federal Government Departments should be capable of responding in French and English:

ecumenism is creating conditions for greatly improved cooperation and understanding between French- and English-speaking people;

in contrast to French Canada's isolation from France, English-speaking Canada maintained constant contact with Britain and viewed Canada not as an end in itself but as an outpost of the British Empire;

every effort was made to duplicate British culture in Canada which slowed the growth of a Canadian national feeling;

evidence of British imperial theme in school text books reflected in flag controversy in 1964;

the English-speaking Canadian's nationalism has been a British imperialism and therefore changes must be made in school text books throughout the country in the interests of Canadian unity;

IV

the only common meeting ground between French Canada and English-speaking Canada is in an enlightened Canadian nationalism based on two fundamental loyalties: those to a Canada from sea to sea and to a United Nations devoted to the preservation of peace;

an outstanding role on the world's stage lies ahead for Canada, if national unity is maintained, but not as two separate smaller states;

bilingualism, biculturalism and Canadian unity are indivisible;

it is essential to incorporate such concepts in every school curriculum in Canada;

the other ethnic groups in Canada should not receive, as the Commission has already agreed, "official recognition", and their contributions to Canada's culture should be rewarded on the basis of merit alone, in the same way as the contribution of any other group of private citizens;

the insistence on the maintenance of other racial and cultural groups in Canada could result in a "little Europe" taking root in Canada's back-yard with many of the frictions of the European counterparts and damage to Canadian unity;

the cultural contributions of all Canadians will only have lasting value as distinctive Canadian contributions and not as imitations of European or Asian cultures;

since there is no such thing as a pure race, the melting pot process is a world-wide one and it not necessarily to be feared;

for the immediate future it is only realistic to recognize the existence of the two main linguistic and cultural groups in Canada, which are already provided for in the federal constitution, and to develop a workable confederation on this basis.

Submission
To The Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
by J. Gordon Nelles
Como, Quebec, August 1965

Messrs. Chairmen and Members of the Commission:-

1. I should like to recall that I first appeared before you in Ottawa in November 1963, at the first public sessions of the Commission, with a view to hearing something of your plans and to making some suggestions on your possible program of work.

2. At that time, I believe I suggested that, while many Canadians, like myself, who lived in Quebec were familiar with the problems of French-English relationships, most Canadians outside Quebec appeared to have little knowledge that any important problem even existed. I suggested, therefore, that such individuals and organizations needed basic questions and guidance by the Commission to set them thinking along the lines that were outlined so well by the Co-Chairmen of the Commission at the first Ottawa sessions.

Value of Royal Commission's Work

3. It is thus, with the greatest satisfaction that I, and I am sure many others, have been able to observe over the last two years that the Commission's work was resulting in a growing awareness, examination and discussion of the basic problem of Canadian unity on a scale never before seen in this Country. While I recognize, as pointed out in the Commission's "Preliminary Report," that its job is to investigate rather than to educate, nevertheless I must say that without the work of the Commission the emergence of Quebec as a dynamic, cohesive, French-speaking unit in the middle of Canada, requiring its own means of expression, would, sooner or later, have burst upon an entirely unprepared English-speaking Canada that would have been too uninformed to make the adjustments necessary in time to give Confederation much chance of survival.

4. In other words, in seeking the facts to inform the Government, the Commission has indirectly provoked the Canadian people into some realization of the fact that nations are not built by apathy or devotion only to the job of making money in business and trade. The Commission's hearings have also exposed the lamentable failure of the educational systems of every province to teach intensively not only the history of the country, its nature and its problems, but also some of the most elementary facts which have to be taken into consideration in any attempt to

preserve its unity or to chart its present and future course in the world.

5. In general, the press, radio and television seem to have done an excellent job in covering the Commission's hearings and in providing a vast amount of supplementary comment. While some centers in the country may have received less coverage than others in this respect, I can certainly vouch for the fact that no English-speaking citizen in the Montreal area, who has the "Star" or the "Gazette" available to him can now have the slightest excuse for not being extremely well-informed on all the principal issues affecting Canadian unity which have come before the Commission.

6. As the chief spur to all this thought and activity, the Commission is undoubtedly deserving of congratulations for so forcefully reminding Canadians that Canada, like the individual, cannot live by bread alone.

The Lesage Government in Quebec.

7. Another fortunate factor is that, just at the time when the work and public hearings of the present Commission have drawn the eyes of the whole country to Quebec we have a Government in that province under Premier Jean Lesage which represents the most progressive and idea-laden group of ministers that has ever appeared in Quebec's history. I say this, incidentally, as one who is an independent observer and not a member of any political party. I think we should recall also that this Government, after its election in 1960 and the inauguration of many reforms -- those in education, under Paul Gerin-Lajoie, being bound to have a profound effect on traditional relationships between church, state and the family in this field -- was re-elected with a greatly increased majority in 1962. Indeed, in the largely ^{rural} ~~vioral~~ constituency of Vaudreuil-Soulanges in western Quebec, where I live, Mr. Gerin-Lajoie's majority rose from a few hundred in 1960 to about 3000 in 1962.

8. I cite these facts as being especially significant in indicating that the traditional English view of Quebec as the backward and uneducated province, except for a small elite, is now inaccurate. While the lack of mass education in the past, principally at the high school level, cannot be remedied overnight, nevertheless the situation is rapidly changing. Not only Quebec leaders, but the people of Quebec as a whole, have set their faces against the isolation of other years and now look to the future as a competitor of ^{an} ~~an~~ equal basis with the rest of Canada. Because of differences in race and language, however, this association between French-and English-speaking citizens becomes the

bicultural and bilingual problem which this Commission is charged to examine; and which, I may add, the Federal Government and its civil servants will continue to have to deal with every day of the year. The problem is sufficiently critical that if flexible statesmanship and better informed attitudes among the citizens throughout the country are not forthcoming, then the Federal Government will find itself not in the present position of discussing convenient terms of association with a moderate government in Quebec, but in discussing with extremists the terms of separation and the burial of Canadian unity.

Personal Contacts in French-English Relations

9. In saying this, perhaps I may be permitted a personal reference. My point of view results from a good many years of close observation from special vantage points in business, as economist in the Chamber of Commerce movement through Junior, National and International Chambers, and, for the last ten years, in what I may term politics at the grass roots level, as a member of the Municipal Council of Como, Quebec, with the last six as Mayor and a year as Prefet, or Warden, of the County of Vaudreuil. Como is a village on the Ottawa River about thirty miles from Montreal with a population of about 1000, some 60% of whom are English-speaking and 40% French-speaking. I may add that the activities I mention have not involved attachment to any political party, but, as I have indicated above, where credit is due in certain instances to members of the present Liberal Government in Quebec, then I do not hesitate to give it.

10. In reflection on such experience as I have had in working in a Quebec county of mixed French and English stock I must say that no bicultural crisis could be observed as the day-to-day's work is done. A thousand and one activities proceed without friction of any kind. Many French people can't speak a word of English and many English people can't speak a word of French, but most of them in the larger villages and towns can speak a good deal of both. It is obvious, however, that the French have the justifiable attitude that the English might do them the courtesy of trying to speak French, as if from an inner feeling of a "first-on-the-scene" relationship. Most of the English have done this for many years but an important factor is that newcomers from England are continually settling in this country with little knowledge of French and no knowledge whatever of Canadian history or tradition. What is true here is, of course, far more true in other parts of Canada where the Canadian population is continually being diluted by large waves of immigration from England and other

European countries. Under such conditions it is extremely difficult for Canada to develop a distinct image at this stage. It is like trying to make a judgment on an unfinished picture when the artist is continually changing the proportion of the colors. Such conditions have not existed in Western European countries for centuries. In Canada, however, the French-English bicultural relationship still remains the dominant characteristic. Moreover, since immigration from France has been almost negligible since 1759, Quebec has retained a largely "undiluted" uniformity within its language and its church. But the picture is now changing and the point I wish to stress is that in many Quebec counties of mixed French and English stock, as in Vaudreuil, the day-to-day working relationship between the two races is as normal as in any other part of Canada. Whenever friction occurs it can usually be traced, not to race, but to educational or linguistic differences. This being so, it follows that such friction can be eliminated by improved education and genuine effort by both French and English over the years. It need not remain a source of disunity in Canada. Moreover, the French have never asked that all the rest of Canada speak French fluently, but that their business in Quebec and with the Federal Government in Ottawa be conducted in French whenever desired. There is no need for me to enlarge on this point as I feel that the Commission is well aware of the requirements in this connection as a result of other recommendations which have been made to it. I must add, however, that on the many occasions when I have seen correspondence in English between English-speaking municipal councils and the Quebec Government, the replies of the latter were nearly always in perfect English. Unfortunately the French-Canadian cannot say the same for the Federal Government's ability to reply in French. Again, we find that Quebec's cabinet ministers and many senior civil servants can usually speak excellent English, while, in Ottawa, good French is the exception that proves the rule.

11. Another aspect of the basic working relationship between French and English in Quebec is the ease with which a thousand and one municipal councils, labor councils, public and private committees, etc., composed of both the French and English-speaking members carry on their business under normal and well-understood democratic rules. I mention this because the apparent failure of education in other provinces to provide the citizen with any real knowledge of Quebec beyond the fact of the existence of two different races and languages seems frequently to leave the non-Quebecer with the impression that the French exist on one side of a fence with the English on the other. I must

say that in six years on the County Council in Vaudreuil, which consisted of some twenty county Mayors whose proceedings were in French and some of whose members could not speak any English, I never found an easier group to work with, even though my French is not good. In fact, despite prolonged discussions on roads, property valuations and taxation and the endless "cours d'eaux", or inter-municipal water courses, I never remember an important issue coming to a vote for a decision. Indeed, unanimity seemed to be a cherished tradition. This, also, despite the fact that many of the Mayors were keen opponents in Provincial and Federal elections.

Ecumenism and French-English Relations

12. I should now like to turn briefly to one area which is of fundamental importance in the Quebec picture, namely the fact that most French-speaking Canadians are of the Catholic Faith while the English are largely Protestant. In the past this difference tended to be a dividing factor, although, again, and for many years now, people have mixed freely in all kinds of social and other activities regardless of religious affiliation. However, the biggest change, or advance, in this respect -- and I think the word "advance" is the proper one -- has come in the last couple of years as the spread of the ecumenical movement from Rome has reached Quebec. This has brought new conceptions of religious tolerance and brotherliness and a much easier and franker atmosphere for the discussion of Christian principles and differences.

13. One outstanding example of this in Vaudreuil County was a joint Catholic-Protestant service held last winter in the 100 year old St. James Anglican Church in Hudson Heights. Despite a blizzard, the church was jammed with Catholic, Anglican and United Church members, nuns, priests and ministers, who listened to a Catholic parish priest deliver a sermon from the Protestant pulpit in French and English. Inevitably a common comment was: "I never thought I'd live to see the day!" To which one may add, in the interests of peace and harmony between peoples "Thank Heaven they did!"

14. This opening of greater communication between French and English on the religious plane may prove to be one of the most important factors in preserving Canadian unity. At the very least, ecumenism has removed religious difference as a factor tending to emphasize, even though perhaps unconsciously, separation between French and English people. A ~~ré~~ rapprochement between the two faiths, therefore, is bound to promote deeper discussion and co-operation in other fields beyond those concerned with religion. When the similarities in the Christian faiths are being emphasized

rather than the differences, then surely we may except that more similar rather than separate paths in the practical ways of living and learning will be followed.

Education, not Race
as Source of Friction in French Canada.

15. And now, having given some evidence of harmonious French-English relations in a typical western Quebec county -- and what I have said is also true of Montreal and other places in Quebec, although all too little realized elsewhere in Canada, -- I should like to turn to some of the things which have divided French and English Canadians and have resulted in the "crisis" between the two which the Commission has referred to in its "Preliminary Report." In doing so I may touch on some things of which I am sure the Commission is already aware, but which, in the submissions made to you as reported in the press, do not seem to have been given the emphasis or the background references which I feel should be made.

16. In the first place, we have to remember that French and English Canadians differ in outlook not because of any profound racial difference, since they both represent mixed western European races of Iberians and Nordics, but primarily because of two entirely different educational systems and backgrounds. Moreover the educational systems continued to diverge through the last two centuries while the backgrounds or cultures which the two groups brought with them from Europe continued to be nourished and developed along their own separate lines.

17. A strongly clerical and pre-revolutionary French culture grew in Quebec while a much less clerical, but strongly British Imperial culture grew in the rest of Canada. A common Canadian meeting ground between the two cultures was seldom in evidence. The French were largely cut off from France and remained in isolation under a clerically-controlled educational system which consistently resisted attempts of English Quebecers to secure adoption of compulsory education. How often did we hear, as late as the nineteen-thirties, Cardinal Villeneuve repeating that the state had no business in education since this was the prerogative of the family. The result of this policy simply meant that thousands of families who had little or no education, save for religious instruction, inevitably failed to insist on their children having more. Nor did the parishes through this mainly rural province encourage education. Hence a high degree of illiteracy persisted in Quebec right up to the introduction of compulsory education by the Godbout Government in the early nineteen-forties, long after its introduction in other Canadian provinces, American states and Europe. The oft-referred-to educated French elite in

Quebec did have their classical colleges, but these did not reach the mass of the population. The Canadian educational contrast, therefore, is not between classical French and so-called practical English educational systems but between a compulsory English system, which also included attention to the classics and the humanities, and an entirely inadequate and non-compulsory educational system for the French-speaking masses. Unfortunately, the Godbout compulsory education law was never energetically followed up, with the necessary school-building and teacher-training programs, until the present Lesage Government came into power in 1960. In the intervening years the rather rural-economy philosophy of Premier Maurice Duplessis failed to provide the stimulation that was needed. At present, however, Education Minister Gerin-Lajoie is having his difficulties in trying rapidly to redress the balance between French and English education. But while the great leap forward to computer systems and trained personnel at all departmental levels cannot be accomplished overnight without headaches, nevertheless the important thing for Canada is that the Quebec ship of state has been steered in a new direction: that of intensive mass education. With time, this will be the essential factor in wiping out the old inferiority complex and sense of frustration expressed by so many French-speaking citizens in competition with their English-speaking neighbors.

18. These factors are extremely important to our field of study since no bicultural system will work satisfactorily in any area or confederation if based on two quite different levels of education. As I have indicated elsewhere, there is nothing inherently difficult about French and English Canadians working together in all the ordinary activities of life, but, immediately we move to the area of management in large-scale business and industry, then educational limitations begin to produce friction and conflict which are all too often blamed erroneously on racial prejudice. The Commission is, I understand, already examining the possibility of discrimination between English and French in business and I shall not enlarge on this here except to observe that from my own experience a good many English-speaking businessmen had given up a long time ago in their attempts to find enough adequately-trained and critically-minded French Canadians to use in management positions in the expansion of their businesses. Even in the Quebec market, where any astute businessman knew it would be an advantage to employ French-speaking Canadians, the latter were very difficult to find for the higher levels of employment. This fact has also been observed by the French-Canadian leaders themselves and only a little while ago the Quebec Minister of Roads

was quoted as saying that he could use a great many more engineers and technicians if he could find them. Needless to say, if this statement had come from an English-speaking businessman we may presume our French-speaking college student friends would have made their indignation loud and clear.

19. From this it is obvious that education, or the lack of it, and not race, is at the bottom of most of the friction and the prejudice. In saying so, however, I do not wish to suggest that I am comparing a perfect English system of education with an imperfect French one. Indeed, the English system itself is in need of many reforms which have been pointed out in many conferences and a growing literature on this subject. What English education there has been, however, has been universal and practical. It has aimed, even if sometimes feebly, in encouraging a pupil to think for himself and to develop a critical mind, a fact which has appeared to be in sharp contrast with the schooling of the French-speaking pupil.

20. Perhaps we may conclude this section with a reference to the fact that much of the quiet revolution in Quebec has been provoked by the introduction into every home of radio and television and the mobility which the automobile has now given every family. Indeed, I am inclined to date the beginning of the end of Quebec's isolation at the time of the Pope's first radio broadcast in the early nineteen-thirties. Until then, radio had been frowned on in the parishes, but with the coming of the Pope's first message by air, the rest of the world moved into the French-Canadian kitchen and living room as well. Thus, the old lovable "habitant" of William Henry Drummond's poems, like the spiritual singing negro of Stephen Foster's songs of the American south, is fading into history; and Drummond and Foster have become the poets of a by-gone age. A new generation will soon arise, I suppose, who will simply know not what we mean when we say, "Je me souviens".

. Emphasis on British
 Background in English Canada

21. In contrast with the French background and culture which I have described and which developed almost in isolation, the English settlers maintained an unbroken contact with the sources of their culture in the British Isles. Moreover, every effort was made, first as colony and then as dominion, to duplicate British culture in Canada. There was no question of Canada being an end in itself as it was with the French-Canadians, although to the latter Canada was generally confined to Quebec. To the English it was an expanding outpost of the British Empire and Britain was the mother country and the homeland. It is so described in text-books in English-

speaking schools to this day, even though Britain has not been the mother country of the majority of Canadians since the mid-nineteen-thirties. Any real Canadian national feeling was inevitably a thing of slow growth. It began to take noticeable shape with the war of 1812 against the United States, received strong impetus in the first World War and was placed on record as having equal status with British national feeling, or British nationalism in the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In the intervening century or more the only noticeable signs of Canadian independence of action were to be found, as might be expected, where they touched the Canadian's pocket-book, namely in placing tariffs on British goods coming into Canada and making trade treaties with other countries. Her demand to sign the Versailles Treaty in 1919 by herself, instead of letting the British delegation head do it for her, was the beginning of major changes in political status as an independent nation, all of which the Commission is, I am sure, well aware of. The interesting thing perhaps, is that over forty-five years later Canada is still trying to make up her mind on a constitution of her own which she can amend in her own Parliament.

Flag Controversy as Evidence

22. Moreover, only last December, after some six months of off-and-on vociferous debate, did the Canadian Parliament adopt an exclusively Canadian flag instead of incorporating the national flag of Britain in its make-up. The previously-flown "Red Ensign" had been an official Canadian flag only since September 1945 and included the British "Union Jack." Not more than one forty-eighth of its surface was devoted to a Canadian symbol of any kind.

23. But the desire to have the best of both worlds and to retain the reflected glory of Britain for Canadians apparently dies hard, and hence Parliament decided to make the British flag also an official Canadian one symbolizing our membership in the Commonwealth; this despite the fact that it is not a British Commonwealth--and is not so referred to by the British Government--and the fact that most international organizations, including the United Nations, usually adopt their symbols of membership, or flags, by general consent of the members. In the present case it is difficult to imagine some Commonwealth members who have fought violently for their independence from Britain and who retain membership for commercial and material advantages only, flying Britain's flag as their symbol of membership. It is evident that in the thinking of many Canadians, the Commonwealth is still the same old British Empire writ large.

24. In recent months, moreover, both Ontario and Manitoba have placed the British flag in their official

provincial flags. If racial origins must be remembered, Quebec perhaps did the most discreet thing in not including the national flag of France, but only the ancient French Fleur-de-lys in its flag--which might have suggested to the other provinces that the English wild rose, the Scotch thistle or the Irish shamrock would have been more appropriate symbols.

British Imperialism
as Canadian Nationalism

25. The record of these facts and attitudes indicates that for most of the last two centuries in English-speaking Canada a British Imperialism really substituted for an indigenous Canadian nationalism. In other words, the Canadian's nationalism was British Imperialism and the latter was sedulously fostered in Canadian schools. As time went on the inexorable pressure of geography and economics, the increasingly mixed nature of the population, the growing realization that Canada's interests were often different and at times even in conflict with British interests, and, finally the participation in wars and in international sporting events, such as the Olympic Games, as single units, requiring purely Canadian identification, have stimulated the growth of a strong national feeling. This process has, of course, been greatly reinforced and, in recent years, hastened by the presence of French Canada which insisted on a Canadian point of view on all major issues. All political parties have had to adapt their policies to this fact or risk disunity in the country and possible failure to win elections. Yet so strong has been the unquestioning support among English Canadians for Britain's foreign policies that even in 1937 the British Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir, felt it necessary to remind Canadians in a declaration that became famous at the time that: "Canada is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or from the United States, or from anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to Canada and to Canada's King, and those who deny this are doing, to my mind, a great disservice to the Commonwealth." The question then was whether Canada should think out her own policy in matters of war and peace and reach decisions through her own Parliament, which she ultimately did in The Declaration of War on Germany in September 1939.

26. But no less than twenty years later this same British Imperialist attitude of the school books rose to the surface when Conservative Leader, John Diefenbaker, declared that Canada should be "at Britain's side" in the latter's attack with France and Israel on Egypt and Suez. The Liberal Government of the day asserted an independent Canadian view that Canada's role should be that of a member

of a United Nation's police force resisting all three attackers. Again, in 1964 the great flag debate in Parliament, press and elsewhere revealed a spectacle of an almost fanatical adherence to a British Imperial loyalty of a bygone age. Again, any real knowledge of Anglo-Canadian relations over the last century and a half seemed to be absent from many speeches both in and out of Parliament. A constant repetition of phrases and statements was in evidence, however, which seemed to echo the school books of both yesterday and today. In "Canada Then and Now," and "Britain and the Commonwealth" by A. Garland and G. M. Wood, which are both official texts in English-speaking schools in Quebec and elsewhere, frequent reference is made, even with regard to recent history, to the "Mother Country" with capital letters for the "M" and "C", and to the "British Commonwealth" rather than the Commonwealth. A sample from my own former school book, W. L. Grant's "History of Canada", which presumably is responsible for many of the attitudes this Commission hears today, declares without qualification that Canada entered the South African war of 1899 because she, "heard the call of the blood." The book notes plaintively, however, that, "English-speaking Canada was hot for war, while many of the French sympathized with a small nation struggling as their fathers had done against the might of Great Britain." But all's well that ends well, and the book adds that, "In the war which followed, our Canadian troops did well, and no matter how long the march, always came into camp with a cheery song!!" The only cause for the war which was given the schoolboy was that Britain's relations with the two Dutch Republics "had long been unsatisfactory." This is the book from which thousands of Canadians in schools from 1914 until the mid-nineteen-twenties both at elementary and matriculation levels, have gained their view of Canada and its relations with Britain and the world.

Common Meeting Ground in Enlightened
Canadian Nationalism

27. Needless to say, the above mentioned displays of a sort of latent British imperial nationalism have hardly endeared English-speaking Canada to French Canada. They raise again the old question for the French Canadian -- and now for more and more younger English Canadians -- as to how far some English Canadians can be depended on to be Canadian, that is: where does their British imperialism leave off and their Canadianism begin? Until all Canadians make up their minds on this issue, there can be no firm basis for Canadian unity or for a satisfactory biculturalism. As long as English Canada is divided, we cannot expect deep unity and understanding with French Canada. This is at the root of "the crisis", and this is largely what makes all French Canadians potential separatists.

28. If there is to be any common meeting ground between English and French speaking Canadians it must be on the basis of purely Canadian aims and aspirations and an acceptance of the bilingual and bicultural nature of the country. The philosophy of the schools and their text books must be devoted to the emphasis on two fundamental loyalties: those to a Canada from sea to sea and to a United Nations or whatever international organization is maintained by the world's powers for the preservation of peace. The citizen must be trained to understand the need for the delegation of some national authority to an international body in his own economic and social interests.

29. This is an enlightened nationalism which need have nothing in common with the aggressive nationalisms of Europe and elsewhere in the past. Human beings cannot be divested of their emotions and sentiments which link them to the areas where they were born and have spent their lives. These are their regional loyalties and they will characterize man for a thousand years to come. The task at the moment is to give such emotions intelligent direction, to channel them to peaceful ends and to mesh them, through one principal international organization, with the regional loyalties or sentiments in other lands. Inevitably, the value of ^{the} contribution of any one area under its own government with its own regional ^{or} national feeling will depend on its unity and its degree of enlightened education. Moreover, such elements are essential for the efficient working of democracy.

30. Experience in administration, no less than that with teams of players in sport, testifies to the need of spirit and enthusiasm, in the service of aims beyond those of individual desires, if political and economic institutions are to work satisfactorily. Moreover, we may decry nationalism or regionalism all we wish, but a basic, practical fact will still remain: namely, that no single world government could govern the world without being broken down into a score or more of regional administrations having authority to deal with, and rule upon, the thousand and one day-to-day problems of their respective areas. The mere volume of business would choke any world parliament having more than limited and defined functions to deal with major issues, such as peace and war and economic and social programs requiring world-wide coordination. The various administrative regions would inevitably develop their own spirit and loyalties as needed for their efficient operations. Hence I submit that we have no reason to fear the development of an enlightened nationalism in Canada, provided education gives the voting citizen the proper orientation and sense

of direction. But we are still, as H. G. Wells declared in the last pages of his "Outline of History", many years ago, at the critical stage where "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe."

31. In North America we have two separate political entities to consider: the United States and Canada, each having for a long time developed its own traditions and institutions. In the United States, the political unity and the single, powerful voice which it exercises in world affairs also appears likely to continue for a long time. In Canada, a more slowly-developing unity has reached a critical stage. Despite this, the unity that it has had, supported by a vast and economically rich country, has already given it a strong voice in the world. In the case of Suez, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, it was able to act decisively in the preservation of peace. Moreover, its role as peacemaker is often more readily acceptable to other nations than the role of the United States. Indeed, at the United Nations and various international conferences it is often of the greatest value to have a second strong voice representing North America. To split Canada would greatly reduce the effectiveness of the remaining parts in any such work. It would tragically narrow what might have been a noble destiny. The economic repercussions within the country of a political division would also be to the disadvantage of both parts. The Canadian economy is an omelette which could never be unscrambled neatly to provide separate states such as that in Africa which are erroneously cited by some extremists as an example for Quebec.

32. The only point of this discussion here is to emphasize that, in both national and international fields, Canadian unity is a highly valuable commodity and anything tending to destroy it is to the disadvantage of all Canadians. But such facts must be spelled out in every school through the co-ordinated efforts of all provincial departments of education. We do not live in a world where education can confine itself, even mainly, to training for jobs. The political orientation of the pupil as a future voting citizen -- using the word "political" in the widest non-party sense -- is just as important as his role as a job-holder. As I have indicated previously, Canadian unity depends on an understanding by all citizens of the bicultural and bilingual nature of the country. All the factors I have mentioned are interdependent and I can only suggest that the Commission stress these in making its recommendations. Indeed, it may be said that biculturalism, bilingualism and Canadian unity are indivisible.

33. Fortunately, we find in Canada today widespread evidence, which cannot be given in detail in a submission of limited length, of the growth of a distinctive Canadian outlook and feeling, especially among the younger generations. The flow of books and magazine and press articles on Canadian subjects is vast compared to two or three decades ago. Canadian ballet and drama, in French and English, and notably, the Stratford Festival, reflect a special Canadian approach to these arts. Moreover, reviews such as the annual "Spring Thaw" produced in Toronto, and the McGill University's Red and White review of 1957, "My Fur Lady", all highly critical of Canada's traditional sacred cows and emphasizing a Canadian viewpoint on many of the subjects heard by this Commission, have received wide acclaim from one end of the country to the other. Canadian poetry and painting, of course, which now appears to be flourishing, have long had a distinctive Canadian flavor.

Position of Non-French and Non-English Groups

34. I should now like to consider a third theme in this submission, following discussion of the French-speaking and English-speaking groups in Canada and their relationships. This concerns the "other ethnic groups," referred to in the Commission's terms of reference. The terms, which include an introductory or opening paragraph and three additional paragraphs of particular duties for the Commission, state at the outset that the Commission should study bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and the development of Confederation "on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

35. One other reference to other ethnic groups is made in paragraph two of the reference terms which states that the Commission should, "report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communication media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role."

36. These terms of reference can be interpreted by different people in different ways. They remind one a little of the mellifluous wording of the Balfour Declaration on the Commonwealth in 1926. It is as if the framers of the terms hoped that the projected study might be almost all things to all people. However, the Commission soon made its

own interpretation, after its first hearings, in a "Working Paper" issued in November 1963. This declared that the opening paragraph of the terms "forbids, or in any case limits" the interpretation that "Canada is actually two melting pots," French and English. The Paper further declared that the main theme of bilingualism and biculturalism "is working in a situation where there is the fact of multiculturalism -- multiculturalism that must not be suppressed as quickly as possible (the proverbial melting pot), but, on the contrary, respected and safeguarded despite not being given official recognition." Again the Paper adds:

"....at the present stage two extreme positions are rejected:

---that which proposes to forget the other cultures or sees them above all as something to transform:

---that which would see them given official recognition."

37. The Commission concludes its interpretation of its role by establishing, the Paper says, "a fixed point of orientation ... in the idea of the equal partnership of Canada's two languages and two cultures ... but ... remembering the existence of other cultures, the human riches they represent and the necessity of safeguarding them."

38. To discuss these terms, one is inevitably faced with a problem in semantics and definition which seems to be more acute in the case of the "other ethnic groups" than in those of the French and English groups, probably because we, the "founding" people, have a more familiar image in our minds when we speak of French and English culture. While the reference terms are not specific, they do, nevertheless, commit the Commission to the assumption that French and English biculturalism is good for Canada and that they should make recommendations to "ensure" its continuance, and, also, that they should "safeguard" the "contribution made by the other cultures."

Nature of Culture

39. Nowhere is the word "culture" defined or limited. Culture may mean a refinement of a form of life or its inanimate manifestations, as in objets d'art, or it may simply mean the artificial cultivation of any form of life, or group of lives, and their forms of expression. Therefore the reference terms, since they mention no limits, seem to imply that the whole culture of our various groups should be preserved. This assumption seems to pervade some of the submissions that have been made to you, along with another common assumption that the arts alone constitute the

culture of a group. I think that we have to remember that when an archaeologist describes the culture of an ancient civilization he includes not only its artistic forms and buildings, but its tools, products, religion and the manner of its trading and its warring. By the same token, all these things are part of our own various cultures, including the behaviour of our politicians and businessmen and their manner of governing and doing business. On this basis I would suggest, without going into detail here, that not all of any racial group's culture is necessarily worth preserving or safeguarding, but only the best of that culture. I would strongly recommend, therefore, that the Commission be as specific as possible in its final report in indicating just what in our various ethnic cultures should be safeguarded, apart from the obvious generalization that anyone of any ethnic group should enjoy the right to all freedom of expression within the law, a right which is already safeguarded.

Other Ethnic Groups as Other Nationalisms

40. I regard these distinctions as important because I submit that it is only certain aspects of our ethnic cultures which should be preserved. In attempting to safeguard many different cultures I think we have to be very careful that we do not leave the door open to a series of racial nationalisms taking root under the guise of cultural development. While I am glad to see that the Commission has rejected giving these other cultures "official recognition," as its Working Paper states, nevertheless the form of non-official recognition, if implemented by the Government, will have an extremely important bearing on the future of Canada.

41. The size of ethnic groups in Canada, other than British and French, appear considerably smaller if looked at from the point of view of the mother tongue spoken rather than from that of the actual ethnic origin. The Commission states in its Working Paper that it prefers to utilize figures relating to mother tongues rather than to ethnic origins. These figures indicate that non-English or French-speaking groups number 2,454,562 or only 14 per cent of the population. This figure is only about half the percentage arrived at for non-British or non-French elements based on ethnic origins. In the latter case the total of the other ethnic groups is about equal to that of the French racial group. Without discussing statistics in this limited space, we may note that there are at least a dozen or more other racial or linguistic groups in Canada who might wish to qualify for whatever special non-official protection for their

respective cultures the Commission might devise. Many of these groups already have their own language newspapers, social clubs and private organizations of various kinds. Undoubtedly the artistic manifestations of these groups do help to enrich an overall Canadian culture and present no problem to Canadian unity. But I submit that there are aspects to the growth of distinctive cultures, based on race and expanding in particular localities, which should give us serious cause for thought as to the extent and nature of the measures to be devised for the encouragement of such groups.

42. Briefly, it may be easy to suggest grants from the Canada Council for artistic achievement and other measures to encourage the arts, or perhaps even to preserve languages, but if elaborate measures are proposed, they could just as easily result in solidifying racial groupings and encouraging new nationalisms. It may be recalled that the strength of German groups in the United States had a considerable influence on American foreign policy, particularly at the time of the first World War. In Canada, we find that a number of racial groups have tended to expand in particular localities and have been strengthened by the constant influx of others from the same "homeland" in Europe. The newcomers often have little or no knowledge of either English or French and certainly know nothing of Canada. Yet some of these people have complained on Canadian television and radio that they "fear" that their "survival" in Canada as a racial group may be in danger under a French-English bicultural and bilingual confederation. The implication seems to be that they have been admitted to Canada not necessarily to become Canadians but to make their fortunes as identifiable Italians, Ukrainians, Poles, or others. Since strong ties are maintained with the homeland and we hear of their appeals and support for some of the aims and causes of their home countries, all this suggests that Canada, out of fear of a melting pot process, may in time find a little Europe growing up in its own backyard with a little Italy, a little Ukraine or a little Poland, etc.

Melting Pot or Imitation Eurasia in Canada

43. Even if this process of Europeanization, or Balkanization, as it is sometimes called, should take more distinct shape, I submit that the racial groupings could never be more than pale reflections of the original articles. Lacking the original environment, and yet resisting assimilation in the new, their forms of expression can never be anything but a semi-Canadian interpretation of the European or Eurasian original. Moreover, only the first

generation immigrant is capable of sustaining the full flavor or the homeland product. The children of the newcomers are bound to have the full effect of the North American environment borne in upon them. They will also continue to intermarry with other races as they have already done. The fact is that a melting pot process is in full swing and only "official recognition" could delay, but not stop it, through government measures or legislation granting special rights and language schools. In my view it is fortunate that the Commission, and, it appears, the framers of the terms of reference, reject such recognition. This very rejection, however, eliminates the political and educational instruments which are the only effective means of slowing down the melting pot process; and, I may add, no one knows this better than the French-speaking Canadian. I submit, therefore, that the contribution of other cultures to the Canadian scene should be recognized on their merits alone, -- in the same way as is any other worthwhile contribution to Canadian life -- and not with a view to ensuring the survival of other ethnic groups.

44. Another factor which could be enlarged on if space permitted is that, while the artistic achievements of other ethnic groups in Canada may enrich a Canadian culture, the political attitudes of the other groups could be a source of serious division in Canadian politics; and particularly when some groups have strong ties with motherlands and fatherlands in Europe and elsewhere. Canadian foreign policy might at times be in direct conflict with those of such other lands and it would be a tragedy if the Canadian Parliament ever suffered divisions of ⁿmultiracial ⁿlives. Indeed, it would be a tragedy if members of Parliament ever were elected primarily to represent different racial groups. Nothing could be more destructive of Canadian unity.

45. In view of the statements of some members of other ethnic groups -- and for other reasons also -- I submit that the Commission should recommend a general revision of the Canadian Immigration Act of 1911, and also a study of the Immigration Department's procedures, particularly with regard to its inspectors and its literature in foreign countries. The whole philosophy of the Department in securing newcomers and the exact nature of the things they are led to believe about Canada needs ^othorough examination. I submit that, in the interests of Canadian unity, it must be made clear to the prospective immigrant that while he may, through private organizations, sustain some of the ways of life of his homeland, nevertheless politically and educationally, he must be ready to merge his life with either the French-speaking or English-

speaking communities in a constitutionally bicultural and bilingual country.

46. Since ethnologists have asserted that there is no such thing as a pure race left in the world, since the last Tasmanian died in the eighteen-eighties, I think that we have to remember the world itself is a melting pot and the only difference between one country and another is that the process has been more rapid in some areas than in others. Continental and natural geographical boundaries may have slowed the process here and there, but a general blending of the races through inter-marriage has never ceased to operate. Moreover, modern communication and transportation, now available to the masses is speeding up the process to an extent never before possible. Indeed, we may say that time is on the side of the melting pot, since apparently no government is strong enough to prevent people from falling in love. Thus, simple romance seems to be eating away at the foundations of multiracialism and multiculturalism.

47. To be practical, however, we are here concerned with devising measures to improve the cultural climate of Canada, with the unity of the country in mind, over the next century rather than over many succeeding centuries. I believe that in time nature will take its course regardless of the terms of reference of this Royal Commission, but, for the near future, such measures must be based on the existence of two main cultural and linguistic groups of people already established and provided for under a federal constitution. Moreover, they actually constitute two melting pots since they have already absorbed many other racial and cultural groups. The absorption by the French of Indian, Irish and Scottish elements is well-known, otherwise the Leader of the Opposition in Quebec, Daniel Johnson, would not have the same Scotch name as the President of the United States. In fact, many leading families in Quebec life could be cited as having English as well as Irish and Scotch family connections. Similarly, even more so in English-speaking Canada. Here we find the English-speaking Leader of the Opposition in Ottawa with the German name of Diefenbaker and only one generation away from Germany. His recent vociferous support of the British flag as a symbol for Canada, which his immediate ancestors would no doubt have wished to destroy, is some indication of the transformation that can take place under the present English-speaking school system. Other examples of the melting pot process among English-speaking Canadians could, of course, be cited *ad infinitum*.

48. The question of the fear of non-survival expressed by some members of the newer ethnic groups in

Canada, also carries the curious implication that loss of identity as a group would somehow mean almost a loss of life by the individual. Many of the families who came to Canada in the seventeen-nineties, after the American Revolution, cannot, in fact, be too certain as to their exact place of origin in Europe. Yet they still seem to be enjoying life in Canada. My own family happens to be one of these. But just because some erstwhile ancestor of mine about two hundred years ago forgot to write down his last address in Europe, I cannot really believe that I have failed to survive. It is true that I am an unhyphenated Canadian who speaks a little more English than French and am the despair of immigration inspectors who want to know my racial origin every time I travel in and out of Canada, but I think I can assure my ethnic-minded friends that, even if they come out of the melting pot as Canadians only, life can still be beautiful; and all the world's culture will still be available to them. They will enrich this out of their own original experience in a Canadian and North American background much more than in attempts to imitate their ancestors in a distant country, with which third and fourth generations here will have lost all real contact.

49. Even the royal families of Europe have been intermarrying for generations and only the industry of historians has kept track of their origins. Compared to many ordinary families, they represent the melting pot process at an even higher boiling point.

Conclusion

50. From all this I cannot escape the conclusion that there is nothing inherently fearsome in a blending of the races. The world is too large and its geography too varied for dull uniformity ever to characterize it. In Canada, as I have said earlier, two main linguistic and cultural groups will continue to exist side by side for a long time to come, especially as law and political institutions have been established to safeguard their continuance. Therefore, the federal systems ^{*} in all parts of the country. Moreover, the two major cultural groups united in a single federal government have an outstanding role to play on the world stage which would not be possible as two smaller separated states.

51. I have indicated the nature of some of the things which have thus far interfered with successful union, both among the French-speaking and the English-speaking elements, and the necessary changes in the approach of education to these problems. On the political side, the problem of working out an equal partnership, with two numerically unequal founding races as it affects the

** must be shaped to accommodate these facts, and so must the educational systems*

- 21 -

Federal Parliament, The Supreme Court and at other points in the country's political structure, is one for detailed discussion between representatives of both races and their constitutional experts. I have not drawn up detailed recommendations because I have been more concerned with revealing to the Commission some of the human elements and attitudes which I feel must be taken into consideration in developing a workable confederation. I feel that the problem is one which statesmanship can certainly solve, but I submit that a solution also depends as much on the education of school child and adult in the realities of life in a big country such as Canada in the mid-twentieth century.

Respectfully submitted,

J. Gordon Nelles

APPENDIX A

TERMS OF REFERENCE
on the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism
(extract from the Order-in-Council 1963-1106
approved by
His Excellency the Governor General
on the 19 July, 1963)

....to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration - including Crown corporations - and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

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BACKGROUND PAPER

Brief # 740-304
Mr. J. Gordon Nelles
Como, P.Q.

M O N T R E A L

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

Mr. Nelles is a businessman. He has served as economist in the Chamber of Commerce movement. He has been a member of the Municipal Council of Como for 10 years, with the last six as Mayor and a year as Warden of the County of Vaudreuil.

(Note: population of Como, 1,000; 60% French-speaking,
40% English-speaking)

Mr. Nelles appeared at the Preliminary Hearing in November 1963.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

1. PROGRAM AND LIAISON SECTION

Q. 1 You have appeared before the Commission at the Preliminary Public Hearings in Ottawa in November 1963. In the past two years, what changes did you recognize in the attitude of Canadians -- across the country -- towards the problems of bilingualism, biculturalism; in understanding the French fact in Canada?

para 4

Q. 2 In this paragraph you deal with the problems of Canadian educational systems. And you state: "The Commission's hearings have also exposed the lamentable failure of the educational system of every province to teach intensively not only the history of the country, its nature, its problems, but also some of the most elementary facts..."
What would be your suggestion to better this situation? A revision of the educational system in every province? Or some kind of federal system of education?

para 18

Q. 3 Still with education, in this paragraph you speak of two different levels of education. Here you are referring to English and French educational systems. With the reforms being made in education in French Canada and the changes in English Canada, would you say that the difference between the two levels is disappearing?

Brief # 740-304

- pp. 14,15,
16,17 Q. 4 On these pages you speak about the other ethnic groups. You say that certain aspects of these ethnic cultures should be preserved but certain aspects should not be preserved. Let us take one group as an example: the Italians in Quebec, in Montreal. What aspects of their culture would you suggest for preservation?
- p. 19
para 46 Q. 5 In your brief you give a quite acute definition for culture. Then later on, you say: "I think we have to remember the world itself is a melting pot and the only difference between one country and another, is that the process has been made more rapid in some areas than in others." Would you elaborate please?
- para 50 Q. 6 In your conclusion, you state that "there is nothing inherently fearsome in a blending of races..." Would you refer to bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada as blending of races?

November 3, 1965.

THE NATIONAL THEATRE SCHOOL OF CANADA

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

*A Good Brief - Good
really struggling with prob
- sensible, honest conclusion and
recommendations*

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I. PURPOSES OF THE BRIEF.

The National Theatre School of Canada is bicultural by necessity and by conviction. It draws its students, teachers, administrators and governors from French and English Canadians and depends on both groups for financial support.

Biculturalism makes the School's work more complicated but, for many of the participants, it makes the results more interesting and more satisfying.

The School stands to gain from increased communication and cooperation between Canada's two communities. It believes that it can serve as a point of contact within the world of the theatre, and, through theatre and all who are affected by it, in the country at large.

This brief will describe how biculturalism affects the objectives and the structures of the School, and how it aggravates some of its problems. It will suggest a program which the federal government should undertake to promote and encourage bicultural organizations and to foster biculturalism in Canada.

II. THE SCHOOL'S OBJECTIVES.

The 1950's marked a turning point in the history of Canadian Theatre. In that decade were established such permanent professional companies as the Stratford Festival and the Crest in English Canada and the Nouveau Monde and the Rideau Vert in French Canada. Television networks in both languages were organized. It became apparent that the demand for trained actors and technicians in Canada was outrunning the supply.

Preoccupied with a new scale of opportunities and problems, the French and English theatre worlds remained, in general, isolated from one another. One intermittent point of contact was the Canadian Theatre Centre, whose members are drawn from the professional companies of both languages and from the bilingual Dominion Drama Festival.

In the late 1950's the Centre appointed a bilingual committee to investigate the feasibility of a national theatre school, and to set out policy objectives for such an institution. The committee drew on the experienced counsel of Michel St-Denis, a director and teacher who had founded schools in both England and France.

The committee decided that it was necessary, and would probably be beneficial, to concentrate the available human and financial resources from both language groups and all regions of the country in a single, national school.

The school would provide training in both the English and French traditions. The confrontation of these traditions within a single institution should prove mutually stimulating and enriching.

The school would not attempt to produce bilingual actors. The ability to speak a foreign language well enough to perform in it is exceptional, even among actors, and imposed bilingualism would hamper training in a student's mother tongue. Each student would be given a complete theatrical training in his own language and culture.

Maximum exposure to both traditions would be encouraged through personal contacts between students and teachers, and through observation of the best professional productions in both languages. The school year would include a winter session in the predominantly French community of Montreal and a summer session in the predominantly English community of Stratford.

III THE SCHOOL'S STRUCTURE.

1. Students. A bilingual examining board selects the School's students from applicants auditioned in cities across the country. An applicant may audition in French or English and is judged on his theatrical ability in either language. At no point in its courses does the School require a student to have a knowledge of more than one language.

In its acting courses the School has facilities and teachers for three years, each divided into a French and an English section. The School would probably operate at maximum efficiency and harmony if each section of each year, contained about 10-15 students. Because of the difference in the sizes of the language groups in Canada, the number of English applicants has always been much larger than the number of French applicants..

The School operates in a North American context and receives an increasing number of applications for its English courses from the United States. Because of its limited facilities the School has had to adopt a policy of giving priority to Canadian applicants. The result of applying the same standard of admission to the different number of applicants in each group has been that the number of eligible English applicants has exceeded the available vacancies, while the number of eligible French applicants has usually been lower than the available vacancies (except for the current year.) This imbalance has been a source of constant difficulty in running the School. It may disappear if the number of French applications continues to increase.

Most classes are given to each section in its own language. The curricula for the two sections are parallel, although each stresses the traditions of its mother culture. Where practical, classes which are essentially non-linguistic are taken together by both sections. Classes in movement, fencing, dancing, acrobatics and voice production (but not diction) are combined. Instructors in these classes usually speak in both languages, either repeating their instructions or alternating from one language to the other.

2. Teachers. The School requires a teaching staff which can provide a complete training in both French and English. At the top the School needs an executive director with a knowledge of both languages and both traditions.

Teachers who deal only with sections of one language can be unilingual. Staff meetings are conducted in both languages with the participants expressing themselves in either. Bilingualism is an advantage for all teachers, but it is a necessity only for those who teach combined classes.

The incidence of bilingualism is probably higher in the mobile, cultured world of the theatre than in the general public. To date the School has been able to attract a sufficient number of bilingual teachers of French and English Canadian and of foreign backgrounds to satisfy its requirements.

3. Administration. The School is administered in both languages. The administration must be able to prepare all documents and notices in both languages and to deal with students, staff or the general public in either. At the top the School needs a bilingual administrative director. The School must employ sufficient bilingual personnel to do the jobs which result from its bicultural character, in addition to performing the normal administrative functions of a school.

4. Governors. As a national institution the School attempts to recruit its Governors from all sections of the country. For practical reasons, meetings of Governors must usually be held in Montreal, Toronto or Stratford. Most of the active Governors come from those cities. The Governors are usually businessmen or professionals. While all French Governors have been bilingual, few of the English Governors have been. Whenever a unilingual Governor is present, a meeting must be conducted in his language. As a result almost every Governor's meeting, even in Montreal, has been conducted in English. For similar reasons, documents intended for Governors which can be produced in only one language must be in English. The Governors are the least bilingual component of the School.

IV THE SCHOOL'S FINANCES.

No educational institution can operate on fees alone. Even if all the School's students were able to pay their fees, the proceeds would cover less than one quarter of the annual budget.

When the School was founded it was hoped that the federal government and all provincial governments would support it. To date major grants have come from the Canada Council and the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and a small grant from Saskatchewan.

In conferring responsibility for education exclusively on the provinces, the Fathers of Confederation created special problems for a school which aspires to operate as a national institution. Individual provinces are reluctant to spend money on a school which is not physically within their borders, even if the school recruits its students from these provinces and provides training not available in the province.

The School's bicultural character has probably been an asset in obtaining government support. It is doubtful whether a unilingual organization could obtain substantial annual grants from both Quebec and Ontario. It seems likely that the generous attitude of the Canada Council, the School's most reliable benefactor, is partly in recognition of the School's role in bringing together Canadians of both languages.

V THE BENEFITS OF BICULTURALISM.

It is too early in the School's history to present much evidence of the advantages of the School's program for its participants or for Canadian theatre-goers. The benefits to individuals and the community are largely intangible. Descriptions of the School's impact on some of its students and teachers will be found in the appendix. We can list only a few examples of activities which have resulted from the School's policy of promoting cultural exchange.

The most widely acclaimed of these activities has been the tours of Les Jeunes Comédiens, a troupe of French graduates who have been presenting classical French plays in many parts of English Canada. By the end of the present season they are scheduled to have played in every province. These tours have been sponsored by various provinces and local organizations but they have been coordinated by the School's administration using contacts acquired throughout Canada.

The School serves as a clearing house for information on theatre activity in both languages. The School invites leading Canadian and foreign theatre personalities to give courses lasting a month or two. In many cases such a visit provided a rare opportunity for the visitor to meet and observe the techniques of his opposite numbers of the other language.

As a result of such contacts at the School an increasing number of the staff and students have been employed by professional companies of the other language.

Not surprisingly these jobs are often in technical fields. English directors and designers have been employed by Montreal companies, while French technicians have been working at Stratford. A proposed exchange of directors between companies in Montreal and Winnipeg involves two men who have been active collaborators at the School.

While the possibilities of sustained collaboration in the professional theatre are limited by problem of language and temperament, the advantages of exchanging information and ideas are limitless.

VI SOME PROBLEMS OF A BICULTURAL ORGANIZATION.

Notes 711
The most obvious disadvantage of biculturalism is that it ~~demands time and money.~~ Virtually all the documents produced at the School, whether for administrative purposes or for general circulation, must be translated from their original language. The School must employ competent translators of both languages.

Much of the time of its senior administrators must be spent on this demanding and thankless task. Because the School could not afford enough translators, some documents, such as the minutes of the Governor's meetings, have not been translated. It is no real answer to the criticism which this provokes to plead chronic penury.

The School's primary purpose is not to promote biculturalism but to train actors and theatre technicians. Sometimes these objectives conflict. For example repeating instructions in two languages takes up precious class time. A theatre class requires a teacher's attention both as a group and as individuals. In a class composed of 60% of one language and 40% of the other, a teacher who divides his time 60 - 40 will be slighting the minority as a group. If he divides his time evenly between the groups he will slighting the individuals of the majority.

Differences of temperament and background, particularly in the highly-charged artistic atmosphere of a theatre school, are likely to produce emotional conflicts which interfere with the School's work. In the short run confronting two races often aggravates the tensions between them, adding a new dimension of difficulty to the teacher's complex task. Evidence of this situation will be found in the student's and teacher's reports in the Appendix.

Biculturalism within an institution might be compared to a see-saw. Too much weight on either end could cause the other to slide off. The School's administration believes that the School's bicultural character can only be maintained if the two languages are represented more or less equally. As the cost of operating each language section is virtually the same, the budget must be divided equally between the two language groups. This does not accurately reflect the proportions of the Canadian population or of the available students. The School is subject to constant criticism and continual pressure to expand its English sections.

The School must not only preserve a precarious balance between the two language groups at all levels of its activities, but it must not appear to the members of either group to be dominated by the other. A great deal of time and planning must be devoted to the delicate problems of selecting the right number of representatives of each language on every committee of students, staff and Governors. Despite its best efforts, the School has been a constant target for complaints, both public and private, that it was ignoring the interests of the complainer's co-linguists. These charges, even when unfounded, damage the School's morale and imperil its public and private support. The only comfort to be extracted from the School's unpleasant experience is that the accusations themselves have been leveled at both languages.

VII CONCLUSION

In a sense bilingualism and biculturalism are unnatural phenomena which run counter to the personality of the average citizen. In any bilingual organization there will be constant pressures to revert to unilingualism. A policy of biculturalism within an organization cannot be called into existence once and for all by a declaration or even a constitution.

To maintain a truly bicultural organization requires constant day to day effort by the participants. Those who make the effort must be convinced that it is worthwhile. The School's administrators often find it difficult to explain to visiting foreigners the reasons for what appears to be planned inefficiency. Many Canadians who are aware of the reasons are not convinced of the necessity. In the long run the survival of the School and similar organizations will depend on how many Canadians of both languages share the School's convictions about the nature of our country and its institutions.

VIII RECOMMENDATIONS

The present crisis in Canada is rooted in the mutual ignorance of French and English Canadians. The future of this country will depend on greatly increased contacts between the two language groups, and greatly increased knowledge of each other's values and achievements.

In 1965 a program of internal linguistic and cultural exchange has become a necessity of "peace, order and good government". A war on ignorance is of overriding national concern to all Canadians. Constitutionally and politically it is a principle responsibility of the federal government.

A part of the national budget of many countries including Canada, is spent on the dissemination of its language and culture in foreign countries. Notable examples are the tax supported British Council of the United Kingdom, the Alliance Française of France, and the Goethe Institute of the German Federal Republic. Surely the Canadian tax payer has an equally vital interest in the dissemination and exchange of his two cultures within his own borders.

An effective program will require direction and sustained financial support. To carry it out the federal government should create special agencies of its own and should support existing non-governmental organizations operating in this field.

The federal government should establish a permanent council of qualified bilingual citizens to supervise the carrying out of its own program and the distribution of grants to outside organizations. This council should be charged with promoting bilingualism in the federal civil service and providing adequate translating facilities, including the training of translators and interpreters. It should investigate the possibility of providing simultaneous translation facilities for meetings of national organizations.

The council should also undertake an extensive program of translating Canadian writing and documents. This essential activity, an intellectual railroad line often running in unprofitable territory, should not be abandoned to the hazards of commerce.

The council should also underwrite scholarships for language specialists and exchanges within our borders of students, teachers, professors, lecturers, and artistic activities of all kinds. The economic barriers created by Canadian geography and population distribution should not be allowed to prevent or restrict tours of theatrical companies, musicians, art exhibitions and the like.

Non-profit educational and cultural organization which adopt a policy of bilingualism subject themselves to increased costs. In addition to whatever grants they may receive from other sources to pay for their principal activities, these organizations should receive special grants to cover such expenses as translation of documents.

The total yearly cost of all these activities would be a pittance in relation to the current scale of federal government expenditures. The whole-hearted implementation of such a program would not automatically guarantee a universal state of national harmony and well-being. No one can predict whether the Canadian citizen is capable of adjusting to his changing situation. But without such a program it is safe to predict that the present infection of disinterest and frustration will continue to fester until political surgery becomes the only remedy.

REPORTTeacher, English Section

This is a statement concerning the bilingual and bicultural aspect of my work as assistant artistic director of the English section of the National Theatre School of Canada.

The National Theatre School is really two schools, one English-speaking and one French-speaking, operating under the same roof and sharing the same administration. If anything, the process of training students for the theatre forces the two groups apart, in that each is involved in exploring the subtleties of communication in its own language and in developing a sharper awareness of its own cultural background. Bilingualism and biculturalism influence this process at three levels -

- a) when joint classes are held
- b) in ~~administration~~
- c) through the everyday contact of working in the same building.

Joint Classes

These are held in physical disciplines such as movement, voice and improvisation. The actual conduct of the classes is merely complicated by the presence of students from both groups, many of whom have only a slight grasp of the other language. At this point, bilingualism consists of saying everything twice. It becomes essential for the teacher to be able to express himself in English and French, and this qualification narrows even further the already limited pool from which suitable teachers can be selected. In the past, the School has allowed unilingual teachers to take joint classes, relying on bilingual students to translate for their fellows. This arrangement is unsatisfactory.

Administration

Apart from the political considerations, the advantage of administering jointly an English-speaking and a French-speaking theatre school is twofold. It is cheaper than administering them separately; it allows the available resources in money, and, more particularly, in teaching personnel, to be focussed and to concentrate their effort. I believe that the School maintains a higher standard than it would otherwise, for being able to select the best available English-speaking and French-speaking staff and students rather than running further down the list in one group or the other. Talent is a commodity in short supply. In administrative practice, the majority of the School's staff can speak both languages, and meetings selection boards etc. function smoothly. The only point to be made is the obvious one that the more people who are bilingual in such an organization, the better.

Everyday Contact

It is at this level that the intangible factors arise. The School tolerates unnecessary inconvenience in the belief that everyday contact between the two language groups is of benefit to each of them. This benefit arises from working jointly in class, criticising each other's work, learning, incidentally a little of the cultural heritage of the other group, and from social inter-course. I believe that I personally have derived considerable benefit from working alongside many of the leading figures in French Canadian theatre. I now speak French well enough to be directing a play professionally, outside the School, in that language. I have witnessed performances of many French plays with which I would not otherwise have become familiar. I have watched in operation and discussed an approach and attitude towards the theatre which differs from my own, in that it is engendered by a different tradition and cultural background.

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All this has been profit, but I recognize that the extent to which I have been able to take advantage of the opportunity to "bi-culturalism" has depended on a prior cultural sophistication. From the point of view of many of the students, the inconveniences of the operation are greater and the rewards fewer.

Edward Gilbert.

REPORT FROM MARILYN LISHTSTONE (3rd year English student)

Quebec Province is my home. Though primarily English speaking, I have realized how much there is to be gained in becoming familiar with another culture, and have tried to keep myself as open as possible to its influences. As a consequence, my home (Quebec) itself has become a more exciting place to me; as I, speaking the two languages reasonably well, am able to live in two different worlds, (in a way!). In this way I have made many personal friends among French Canadians.

If I should say that this was the general pattern at the school however, I should be telling an untruth. Most of the students arrive with little or no French, and in spite of good will, the desire to master a new language fades. There is simply too much for the mind and emotions to absorb in that first year. It is a year in which everyone is made very conscious of themselves and their personal and acting problems. There is just not time or urgency enough to start conjugating French verbs. What then seems to happen, in my mind, is that everyone wants to remain nice and friendly, but that many relationships remain superficial even after long periods of daily contact. As far as actual bilingual classes go, for the majority of students it can sometimes mean a great waste of classroom time, and consequently a dissipation of energy and enthusiasm for the work. I myself was often glad of the repetition of instructions, explanations in two languages as it gave me two chances to understand, in a way. At some times, it also gave me a different angle on the subject, because the explanation might come out to be just that slight amount different in one language than the other; - or else it could have been terribly oversimplified; or even delivered with shameful lack of enthusiasm by a student who wasn't feeling particularly keen that day. Another time, things could be going along

carryings on, they would get tremendously excited over something and carry on and this to the English in my class, we would kind of stiffen a bit when the French were carrying on hysterically.

Or occasionally one of the French kids would break down and have a scene and we would kind of turn to each other and say "they are at it again", or "Louise is at it again" and that was just their particular personality at that time.....

....So that I wouldn't say that everything was smooth throughout the three years but I do feel that bilingualism and biculturalism can work provided that the key work is observed "tolerance" - on both sides, and the effort made to learn the other persons language and to understand the other persons culture.

Within the School itself now - while we were in Montreal, we would be surrounded by a French culture and we would have to face up to the fact that the French culture exists. That it exists in a large way and that Quebec and the cities of Montreal and Quebec city are very much a part of Canada, which the English people have a finger in as well. When we went to Stratford, on the other hand, the French would be completely surrounded by English speaking people and very often they felt out of it. They felt kind of isolated, and lonely. During that time, in our year, we would try and make the French feel as much at home as possible. We made more effort at School of trying to speak French within the School itself. After awhile they adapted quite well but strangely enough they also adapted into the fact that they were surrounded by English speaking people and their sparse English they would kind of use more and more, eventually after awhile they picked up a fair bit and also they came to realize that Ontario or that part of Ontario, was as much theirs. They came to see the Festival Theatre as being as much theirs as anything else.....

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APPENDIX

REPORT FROM GARY FILES (3rd year English student)

(Extracts from a tape recording)

I am an Australian who came to this country five and one half years ago. First I settled in Toronto and then came to the National Theatre School, three years ago. When I first arrived in Montreal I had no previous knowledge of French, I had no idea of what to expect from the French half of Canada, in fact I didn't even know that the French half of Canada existed in such a large amount, in such a complex society.....

.....Within our year, there were about three or four of the English who had a working knowledge of French, two of those were from Montreal I believe, and of the two from Montreal, they more than knew the basic amount of French. The rest of us just made an effort trying to learn French, we tried to see things the way the French did and they, there were three or four of them that knew English, made an effort back, when they saw that we were making the effort to learn French. Suddenly we found that we could combine things, when we had classes like dance together, or improvisation, we would help each other. What you couldn't get past in the language, you make do with sign language to bridge the gap somehow. A warm kind of comradeship would spring up. We being introduced to a completely new way of life because we recognized the people up there from our having worked with them in class during the day and it was interesting to see how they approached a play and what they got out of it. Everything wasn't hunky-dory within the three years that I spent at the School, there were a couple of times when I personally got annoyed with a lot of things that the French would come up with in improvisation and mask work perhaps, I felt that the French tended to approach things more on a shallow basis, a more facile kind of basis. I may be wrong of course but this was how it struck me. A lot of their feelings were surface type feelings and I also got annoyed with some of their explosive

RAPPORT SOUMIS A LA COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUETE
SUR LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

I N D E X

I	BUTS DU RAPPORT
II	OBJECTIF DE L'ECOLE NATIONALE DE THEATRE
III	STRUCTURES DE L'ECOLE
IV	FINANCEMENT DE L'ECOLE
V	LES BENEFICES DU BICULTURALISME
VI	QUELQUES-UNS DES PROBLEMES D'UNE INSTITUTION BICULTURELLE
VII	CONCLUSION
VIII	RECOMMANDATIONS
	APPENDICES

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation. The names are as follows:

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation. The names are as follows:

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation. The names are as follows:

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7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation. The names are as follows:

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I BUTS DU RAPPORT

L'Ecole nationale de théâtre du Canada est biculturelle par nécessité et par conviction. Ses étudiants, ses professeurs, ses administrateurs et ses gouverneurs sont choisis tant chez les Canadiens d'expression française que chez les Canadiens d'expression anglaise et elle dépend des deux groupes ethniques du pays pour l'aide financière dont elle a besoin.

Si le biculturalisme complique un peu l'organisation de l'Ecole, il apporte cependant à beaucoup de ses participants des bénéfices plus que satisfaisants.

L'augmentation des contacts et de la coopération entre les deux principales communautés du Canada serait un gain pour l'Ecole. Elle croit pouvoir servir de point de contact dans le monde du théâtre, et à travers le théâtre et tous ceux qui s'y rattachent, et ce, d'un bout à l'autre du pays.

Ce rapport décrira comment le biculturalisme affecte les objectifs et les structures de l'Ecole et dans quelle proportion il aggrave quelques-uns de ses problèmes.

Il proposera un programme que le Gouvernement fédéral devrait entreprendre pour promouvoir et encourager les organisations biculturelles et stimuler le biculturalisme à travers le Canada.

II LES OBJECTIFS DE L'ECOLE

Les années 50 ont marqué un tournant dans l'histoire du théâtre au Canada.

C'est en effet au cours de cette décade que sont nées des compagnies permanentes de théâtre professionnel telles que celles du Festival de Stratford et du Crest, au Canada anglais, et celles du Nouveau Monde et du Rideau Vert, au Canada français.

C'est également au cours de cette décade qu'ont été organisés les réseaux français et anglais de télévision. Il devint alors évident que la demande de comédiens et de techniciens bien

entraînés dépasserait rapidement les disponibilités du pays.

Aux prises avec une nouvelle échelle de possibilités et de problèmes, les mondes français et anglais du théâtre restèrent généralement isolés. Un seul point de contact, tout à fait sporadique cependant, était alors le Centre du Théâtre Canadien dont les membres étaient issus de compagnies professionnelles des deux langues officielles du pays et du Festival d'Art dramatique, organisme également bilingue.

Vers la fin des années 50, le C.T.C. nomma un comité bilingue pour étudier les possibilités offertes par la création d'une école nationale de théâtre, et pour déterminer les objectifs d'une telle institution. Dans l'élaboration de son travail, le comité a été spécialement guidé par les conseils de Michel St-Denis, directeur et professeur plein d'expérience, qui a fondé des écoles de théâtre tant en France qu'en Angleterre.

Le comité décida qu'il était nécessaire et qu'il serait probablement plus avantageux de réunir les ressources humaines et financières des deux groupes linguistiques et de toutes les régions du pays pour la création d'une seule et même école.

L'Ecole fournirait l'entraînement nécessaire dans les traditions anglaises et françaises. La rencontre de ces deux traditions à l'intérieur d'un même établissement provoquerait une stimulation et un enrichissement mutuels.

Cependant, l'Ecole ne s'efforcerait pas de produire des comédiens bilingues. En effet, la facilité de s'exprimer dans une langue étrangère pour être à même de se produire au théâtre reste, pour un comédien, un fait assez exceptionnel, et un bilinguisme imposé pourrait nuire à l'entraînement de l'étudiant dans sa langue maternelle.

Il serait donc donné à chaque étudiant un cours complet dans sa propre langue et sa propre culture.

L'exposition maximum aux deux traditions serait encouragée par les contacts personnels entre les étudiants et entre les professeurs et par l'assistance aux meilleures productions professionnelles dans les deux langues.

L'Année scolaire comprendrait une session d'hiver dans une ville à prédominance française comme Montréal, et une session d'été dans une ville anglaise telle que Stratford.

III LES STRUCTURES DE L'ECOLE

1. Les étudiants

Un jury d'examen bilingue choisit les étudiants parmi des candidats qui sont auditionnés dans diverses villes à travers le pays. Un candidat peut obtenir une audition en français ou en anglais et il est jugé sur son habileté théâtrale dans l'une et l'autre langue. A aucun moment l'Ecole n'exige que l'étudiant connaisse plus d'une langue.

Pour les trois années du cours d'interprétation, l'Ecole dispose de locaux et de professeurs qui sont utilisés, en même temps ou séparément, par la section française et par la section anglaise.

Il est probable que l'Ecole fonctionnerait plus efficacement et plus harmonieusement si chaque section de chaque année comprenait environ de dix à quinze étudiants.

Mais en raison de la différence numérique des deux groupes linguistiques au Canada, il y a toujours eu beaucoup plus de candidats anglais que français.

L'Ecole fonctionnant dans le contexte Nord Américain, elle reçoit chaque année un nombre croissant de demandes des Etats-Unis pour ses cours en anglais. En raison de ses possibilités limitées, l'Ecole a adopté comme politique d'accorder la préférence aux candidats canadiens.

En appliquant le même système d'admission à un nombre différent de candidats dans chaque groupe, il en résulte que le nombre de candidats anglais éligibles dépasse le nombre de places disponibles, tandis que celui des candidats français est généralement inférieur (sauf cependant pour la présente année). Ce déséquilibre est une source constante de difficultés dans la gestion de l'Ecole. Il peut cependant disparaître si le nombre de candidats français continue à augmenter.

La plupart des cours sont donnés à chaque section dans la langue maternelle des étudiants qui la composent.

Les programmes d'études sont les mêmes pour les deux sections tout en gardant cependant l'accent sur les traditions de la culture maternelle.

Lorsque cela s'avère pratique, notamment pour les cours où le rôle de la langue est d'importance mineure, les deux sections sont réunies, il en va ainsi par exemple, pour les cours d'expression corporelle, d'escrime, de danse, d'acrobatie et de pose de voix (pas de diction). Au cours de l'enseignement de ces disciplines, le professeur utilise normalement, tour à tour, l'une et l'autre langue, soit qu'il donne complètement ses instructions dans l'une puis dans l'autre langue, soit qu'il alterne.

2. Les Professeurs

L'Ecole fait appel à un personnel susceptible de donner des cours en français et en anglais. A sa tête, l'Ecole a besoin d'un directeur ayant une bonne connaissance des deux langues et des deux cultures.

Les professeurs appelés à ne travailler qu'avec une seule section peuvent être unilingues.

Les réunions de professeurs sont tenues dans les deux langues, les participants s'exprimant chacun dans leur propre langue.

Considéré comme un avantage pour tous les professeurs, le bilinguisme devient cependant obligatoire pour tous ceux d'entre eux qui sont chargés de donner leurs cours aux deux sections.

L'incidence du bilinguisme est probablement plus élevée dans le monde divers et cultivé du théâtre que dans le public en général. Jusqu'à maintenant, l'Ecole a été capable d'attirer un nombre suffisant de professeurs bilingues du Canada français et anglais, et de l'étranger pour satisfaire ses besoins.

3. L'Administration

L'Ecole est administrée dans les deux langues. Le personnel administratif doit être capable de préparer tous les documents dans les deux langues, ainsi que de traiter avec les étudiants, le personnel et le public, dans l'une et l'autre langue.

A la tête de l'administration, l'Ecole a besoin d'un directeur bilingue. De plus, l'Ecole doit utiliser suffisamment de personnel bilingue pour effectuer les travaux résultant de ses caractères biculturels, tout en réalisant les travaux administratifs normaux d'une école.

4. Les Gouverneurs

En sa qualité d'institution "nationale", l'Ecole tâche de recruter ses gouverneurs de toutes les régions du pays. Cependant, pour des raisons d'ordre pratique, les réunions des gouverneurs sont généralement tenues à Montréal, Toronto ou Stratford. La plupart des gouverneurs actifs viennent de ces villes. Les gouverneurs sont généralement des hommes d'affaires ou des hommes de profession libérale. Mais tandis que tous les gouverneurs d'expression française sont bilingues, seulement quelques-uns d'expression anglaise le sont. Aussi lorsqu'un seul gouverneur unilingue est présent à une réunion, celle-ci se tient dans la langue de ce gouverneur. Il en résulte, on le comprend aisément, que la plupart des réunions des gouverneurs sont tenues en anglais, même à Montréal.

Pour des raisons semblables, les documents destinés aux gouverneurs et qui ne peuvent l'être que dans une seule langue, sont établis en anglais. Aussi l'on peut dire que le bureau des gouverneurs, dans son ensemble est l'élément le moins bilingue de l'Ecole.

IV LE FINANCEMENT DE L'ECOLE

Aucune maison d'enseignement ne peut être financée par les seuls revenus obtenus des frais de scolarité.

Même si tous les étudiants avaient la possibilité de payer leur frais de scolarité, les montants récoltés ne couvriraient même pas le quart du budget annuel.

Lorsque l'Ecole a été fondée, on espérait que le gouvernement fédéral et tous les gouvernements provinciaux lui apporteraient leur support. Jusqu'à ce jour, cependant, les plus importantes subventions qui lui ont été octroyées provenaient du Conseil des Arts du Canada, et des provinces de Québec et de l'Ontario. Des autres provinces, seule la Saskatchewan a accordé à l'Ecole une petite subvention annuelle.

En réservant exclusivement la responsabilité de l'Education aux provinces, les Pères de la Confédération ont créé des problèmes aux institutions d'enseignements canadiennes, qui se veulent "nationales".

Les provinces sont généralement peu disposées à dépenser des fonds pour un établissement d'enseignement qui n'est pas à l'intérieur de leurs frontières, même si cet établissement recrute ses étudiants dans leur territoire et procure un enseignement qui n'est pas disponible chez elles.

Le caractère biculturel de l'Ecole a probablement été un atout pour l'obtention de l'aide gouvernementale. Il est en effet douteux qu'une organisation unilingue puisse obtenir à la fois l'aide de l'Ontario et du Québec.

Il paraît également vraisemblable que la généreuse attitude du Conseil des Arts, qui est l'organisme supportant l'Ecole avec le plus de persévérance et de sérieux, est en grande partie provoquée par le rôle que joue l'Ecole dans le rapprochement des deux groupes.

V LES BENEFICES DU BICULTURALISME

Il est encore trop tôt pour démontrer avec évidence les véritables avantages que le programme de l'Ecole procure à ses participants ou à la bonne marche du Théâtre Canadien.

Les bénéfices procurés aux individus et à la communauté restent pour une bonne part intangibles.

On pourra trouver dans les appendices ci-joints, les descriptions des réactions provoquées par l'Ecole sur certains étudiants et sur certains professeurs.

Nous soulignerons seulement par quelques exemples ce que la politique de l'Ecole a permis d'apporter dans le développement des échanges culturels.

Ainsi, l'une des initiatives de l'Ecole qui a été la plus chaleureusement accueillie à travers le pays a été l'organisation des tournées des Jeunes Comédiens. Cette troupe qui est formée de jeunes gens d'expression française ayant récemment terminé leur cours de trois ans à l'Ecole nationale a présenté des pièces classiques en français à travers le Canada.

A la fin de la présente saison, ils auront joué dans toutes les provinces du pays.

Ces tournées ont été organisées avec l'aide de plusieurs provinces et de gouvernements locaux, mais elles ont été coordonnées par l'administration de l'Ecole qui a utilisé à cette fin les représentants et les relations dont elle dispose à travers le Canada.

L'Ecole sert aussi de bureau central pour toute sorte de renseignements concernant les activités du théâtre dans les deux langues. De plus, l'Ecole invite les chefs de file du Théâtre Canadien et d'éminentes personnalités du théâtre étranger à venir donner des cours à ses étudiants pour des périodes allant de un à plusieurs mois.

De telles visites fournissent à ces personnes l'exceptionnelle opportunité de rencontrer et d'observer réciproquement leurs techniques.

Ces contacts ont eu pour résultats d'augmenter le nombre d'emplois offerts par des compagnies professionnelles à des membres du personnel ou à des étudiants des deux groupes linguistiques. Il n'est pas surprenant de constater que ces emplois sont généralement offerts dans le domaine de la technique de théâtre.

Des metteurs en scène et des décorateurs anglais ont été engagés par des compagnies montréalaises tandis que des techniciens français travaillent à Stratford.

Un échange de metteur en scène proposé entre des compagnies de Montréal et de Winnipeg, concerne précisément deux personnes qui ont été d'actifs collaborateurs de l'Ecole.

Toutefois si, dans le théâtre professionnel, les possibilités de collaboration régulière sont limitées par des problèmes de langue et de tempérament, les avantages relatifs aux échanges d'information et d'idées sont, eux, illimités.

VI QUELQUES-UNS DES PROBLEMES D'UNE INSTITUTION BICULTURELLE

Les désavantages les plus manifestes du biculturalisme résident dans son coût en temps et en argent. L'Ecole doit employer des traducteurs compétents dans les deux langues.

En pratique, tous les documents créés par l'Ecole, que ce soit pour des raisons administratives ou autres, sont traduits. Le personnel administratif de l'Ecole consacre beaucoup de son temps à cette tâche nécessaire mais ingrate.

Cependant, parce que l'Ecole ne peut se payer le luxe d'engager assez de traducteurs, certains documents comme les procès verbaux des réunions des gouverneurs, ne sont pas traduits. Toutefois plaider la pauvreté chronique n'apporte pas de vraie réponse aux critiques provoquées par une telle situation.

Rappelons cependant que le but premier de l'Ecole n'est pas de développer le biculturalisme, mais de former des acteurs et des techniciens de théâtre.

Parfois ces objectifs se contrarient. Par exemple, répéter des instructions dans les deux langues prend une part précieuse du temps alloué pour un cours. Un tel cours de théâtre réclame l'attention du professeur aussi bien envers chaque groupe donné qu'envers chaque individu en particulier.

D'une part, dans une classe où un groupe est représenté dans une proportion de 60% et l'autre dans une proportion de 40%, le professeur ne peut accorder 60% de son temps au premier groupe et 40% au second sans manquer d'égard envers le groupe minoritaire.

Les différences de tempérament et de culture, qui sont particulièrement sensibles dans l'atmosphère artistique d'une école de théâtre, concourent à provoquer des conflits émotionnels qui gênent le travail de l'Ecole.

Dans l'immédiat il faut bien avouer que confronter les deux races actuellement en présence au Canada, c'est souvent aggraver les tensions qui existent entre elles, et dans le cas d'une école comme celle-ci, ajouter une nouvelle dimension aux difficultés de la tâche déjà assez complexe, du professeur.

L'évidence de cette situation apparaît clairement dans les rapports des étudiants et des professeurs que l'on trouvera en appendices.

Le biculturalisme à l'intérieur d'une institution pourrait être comparé à une bascule. Trop de poids d'un côté fait basculer l'autre. L'administration de l'Ecole croit que le caractère biculturel de l'Ecole ne peut être maintenu que si les deux groupes sont représentés dans une proportion à peu près égale.

Comme les dépenses d'exploitation sont pratiquement les mêmes pour chaque groupe, le budget doit donc être également divisé entre les deux groupes. Cela bien sûr, ne tient pas compte avec précision des proportions de la population canadienne ou de la moyenne des étudiants.

Mais, ce n'est pas nouveau, l'Ecole est constamment aux prises avec la critique et subit de continuelle pression qui visent à l'expansion de sa section anglaise.

Non seulement l'Ecole doit elle tenter de préserver l'équilibre précaire qui existe entre les deux groupes à tous les niveaux de leurs activités, mais elle doit également éviter que l'un des groupes ne semble être dominé par l'autre.

Notre temps doit être utilisé en grande partie au délicat problème de la juste répartition des représentants de chaque langue dans chaque comité d'étudiants, de professeurs ou de gouverneurs.

En dépit de tous ses efforts, l'Ecole reste constamment en butte aux plaintes publiques ou privées, chacun se plaignant qu'on néglige les intérêts des représentants de son groupe linguistique. Ces accusations, même si elles ne sont pas fondées, sont préjudiciables à l'état d'esprit de l'Ecole et mettent en péril l'aide qu'elle reçoit des organismes publics et privés.

Le seul motif de consolation que l'on peut trouver dans cette déplaisante expérience réside dans le fait que les accusations elles-mêmes ont été portées par des représentants de l'une et de l'autre langue.

VII CONCLUSION

En un sens, le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme sont des phénomènes anormaux qui vont à l'encontre de la personnalité du citoyen moyen..

Dans toutes les organisations bilingues, des pressions constantes s'exercent pour le retour à l'unilinguisme.

Une politique prônant le biculturalisme à l'intérieur d'une organisation ne peut pas être créée et prétendre à l'existence, une fois pour toutes, en se basant sur des déclarations ou même sur une constitution. Maintenir un véritable biculturalisme dans une organisation réclame de la part des participants des efforts constants, des efforts chaque jour répétés.

Ceux qui font cet effort doivent être convaincus que cela en vaut la peine.

Les administrateurs de l'Ecole trouvent souvent difficile d'expliquer aux visiteurs étrangers pourquoi nous semblons organiser l'inefficacité en système.

Beaucoup de Canadiens, étrangers à nos raisons, ne sont guère convaincus de la nécessité de la politique adoptée par l'Ecole.

A la longue, la survivance de l'Ecole et des organisations similaires, dépendra du nombre de Canadiens des deux langues qui partageront les idées de l'Ecole au sujet de la nature de notre pays et de ses institutions.

VIII RECOMMANDATIONS

L'actuelle crise que connaît le Canada a sa source dans l'ignorance mutuelle des Canadiens français et anglais.

L'avenir du pays dépendra d'une forte augmentation des contacts entre les deux groupes ethniques et de la connaissance mutuelle des valeurs et des oeuvres de chacun.

En 1965, un programme interne d'échange entre les deux cultures et entre les représentants des deux groupes ethniques est devenu un gage "de paix", d'ordre public et de "bonne administration" ("peace, order and good government").

Tous les Canadiens sont les premiers concernés par cette lutte contre l'ignorance. C'est politiquement et constitutionnellement l'une des principales responsabilités du gouvernement fédéral.

Beaucoup de pays, dont le Canada, consacrent une part du budget national à la pénétration de leur langue et de leur culture dans des pays étrangers.

La British Council of the United Kingdom, l'Alliance Française, la Direction générale des affaires culturelles et techniques de Paris et l'Institut Goethe de la république fédérale allemande sont de vivants exemples de cette politique.

Il est sûrement d'un intérêt aussi vital pour les contribuables canadiens que leurs deux cultures soient connues et répandues à l'intérieur même de leurs propres frontières.

Pour qu'il soit efficace, un tel programme réclame une direction et une aide financière soutenue. Pour exécuter ce programme, le gouvernement fédéral devrait créer ses propres agences spéciales et supporter les organisations privées déjà existantes opérant sur ce terrain.

Le gouvernement fédéral devrait également établir un conseil permanent composé de citoyens bilingues qualifiés pour veiller à l'exécution de ses propres programmes et à la répartition des subventions aux autres organismes.

Ce conseil devrait être responsable de la promotion du bilinguisme dans le service civil fédéral et pourvoir à la création de services adéquats de traduction et à l'entraînement de traducteurs et d'interprètes. Il devrait encore enquêter sur les possibilités de fournir les services de traduction simultanée pour les réunions des organisations nationales.

Le conseil devrait également entreprendre la création d'un vaste programme visant à traduire les écrits et les documents canadiens.

Ce travail essentiel, que l'on pourrait comparer à une ligne de chemin de fer traversant des régions de peu de rendement, ne devrait pas naturellement être abandonné aux hasards du commerce.

Le conseil devrait aussi pourvoir à la distribution de bourses aux linguistes et organiser à l'intérieur de nos frontières, des échanges d'étudiants, d'instituteurs, de professeurs, de conférenciers et d'activités artistiques de toutes sortes.

Les barrières économiques créées par la géographie canadienne et par la répartition de la population ne devraient ni empêcher, ni restreindre les tournées, à travers le pays, de compagnie de théâtre, de musiciens, d'expositions d'art ou de manifestations similaires.

Les organisations culturelles et les maisons d'enseignement sans but lucratif qui adoptent une politique de bilinguisme, sont obligées de supporter des frais d'exploitation plus élevés en raison de cette politique.

C'est pourquoi en plus des subventions qu'elles peuvent recevoir pour payer les frais de leurs principales activités, ces organisations devraient recevoir une subvention spéciale pour couvrir les dépenses supplémentaires telles, par exemple, que celles occasionnées par les divers travaux de traduction.

À l'échelle du budget courant du gouvernement fédéral, le coût total de tout ce programme serait vraiment minime. L'exécution d'un tel programme n'apporterait pas pour autant la garantie d'un état universel d'harmonie nationale et de bien être.

Personne ne peut cependant prédire si le citoyen canadien est capable de s'adapter à ce changement.

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Toutefois, sans un tel programme, on peut prédire, sans crainte de se tromper, que la plaie causée par le manque d'intérêt et les sentiments de frustration ne fera que s'envenimer jusqu'à ce qu'une intervention chirurgicale d'ordre politique devienne le seul remède.

NOTES SUR LE BILINGUISME A L'ECOLE NATIONALE DE THEATRE

par un professeur de la Section Française

Quelle est au départ la situation d'une section française moyenne par rapport au bilinguisme? Trois faits sont à signaler:

- La plupart de nos élèves ignorent l'anglais, répugnent à le pratiquer parce que trop souvent, dans leur vie quotidienne, il leur paraît paradoxal d'être obligé pour se faire comprendre dans leur propre pays, d'utiliser une autre langue que la leur.
- Une incompréhension totale du mode de vie anglais, fondée sur l'ignorance et les préjugés, l'impression d'être loin d'eux et de former une communauté aux caractères nationaux typiquement canadiens-français.
- Le niveau intellectuel et la culture sont nettement bas, et paralysent tout effort d'approfondissement sur la nature du Canada, son Histoire, ses particularités. Les élèves souhaiteraient qu'il existât une littérature, un théâtre canadien-français; ils déplorent le manque de qualité des oeuvres écrites par leurs écrivains. Leurs réactions devant des oeuvres françaises sont bonnes généralement, ouvertes à la critique, mais pas toujours dépourvues de nationalisme.

On voit donc tout ce qui pourrait gêner des élèves entrant dans une école dont tout le système repose sur le bilinguisme. C'est ce qui fait l'originalité du fait social que représente notre établissement: son caractère unique, nouveau et prolongé. Je dois dire tout de suite que les caractères précédents ne disparaissent pas: ce serait utopique, mais il me paraît important de noter qu'ils ne s'aggravent pas et, qu'au contraire, ils s'atténuent, au moins chez ceux de nos élèves qui veulent bien regarder les vérités en face et dont le jugement n'est pas stérilisé par des prises de position établies une fois pour toutes.

Rencontrer en chair et en os un canadien anglais, je veux dire savoir qu'il vit, qu'il apprend comme lui un texte et le joue, le cotoyer quotidiennement enfin, le connaître, est déjà en soi une expérience. Dans le travail même, une sorte de détachement s'opère entre la personnalité sociale et la personnalité artistique. Les élèves se jugent entre eux, après un spectacle, selon les mêmes canons et l'on peut bien affirmer ici que le point de vue artistique devient intemporel, encore que les élèves français soient conscients que leurs camarades anglais sont plus prêts qu'eux à jouer Shakespeare et l'inverse se passe pour Molière. Or cette acceptation de ne se juger que dans le domaine professionnel, à l'exclusion de toute autre considération, est déjà en soi-même un pas en avant.

Cette attitude est naturellement facilitée par la nature même de notre emploi du temps, notre souci d'unir nos élèves des deux sections dans les mêmes cours, avec les mêmes professeurs, à chaque fois que cela est possible.

Peut-être deviennent-ils alors conscients que la langue, même devenue infrastructure, et partie du patrimoine, n'est tout de même qu'un véhicule d'idées et de concepts. Bien que le fait d'avoir un genre de vie très voisin, américain, ne leur apparaisse pas clairement et qu'ils soient plus sensibles aux différences qu'aux ressemblances, à la longue, et presque malgré eux, nos élèves oublient dans le temps du travail que un et un font deux. Que tout ceci soit fragile est bien évident, et l'est rendu davantage lors du séjour d'été à Stratford, où les élèves canadiens-français sont plongés dans une sphère étrangère et pour trop peu de temps pour qu'ils se modifient. A la limite, on pourrait presque affirmer que les deux mois annuels en Ontario accusent la fragilité des positions trop fraîchement acquises sur la coexistence des deux groupes linguistiques.

C'est pourquoi tout ce qui précède ne peut être utilisé qu'avec la plus extrême précaution. Rien ne semble vraiment acquis et notre expérience est très jeune. Il faut la poursuivre et attendre pour en voir les fruits. Bien sûr, on ne saurait passer sous silence tout un ensemble de faits positifs: la camaraderie, l'entraide collectif, l'aptitude au jeu, la franchise et la sympathie de la critique ou même davantage. Après tout, l'Ecole est un peu un îlot, et Robinson Crusoé et Vendredi, sans former le couple idéal, ont tout de même subsisté et appris l'un de l'autre.

RAPPORT DE ROGER BLAIS (3^e année française)

Lors de la tournée dans l'Ouest Canadien en septembre 63, où nous jouions une pièce de Molière "Le mariage forcé" devant un public anglais, j'ai réalisé que l'Ecole nationale de théâtre était en soi, comme ce Canada bilingue, un univers où se confrontent deux cultures. Pour ces gens, c'était leur premier contact avec un français "vivant" ne l'ayant connu que dans des manuels d'étude.

J'ai réalisé aussi qu'un pays bilingue ne veut pas nécessairement dire que tous doivent parler les deux langues et encore moins poursuivre les deux cultures. Au contraire, je crois que chacun doit tendre à se développer intérieurement dans la culture qui lui est propre pour être en mesure d'apprécier et de respecter l'autre. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il faut se limiter à sa culture mais au contraire c'est en adoptant une telle attitude que l'un se sentira attiré vers l'autre.

En 1^{ère} année à l'école, je croyais qu'on pouvait s'enrichir mutuellement à l'intérieur du travail.

Après trois ans, je vois que la question n'est pas de vouloir se fondre avec l'autre, mais de travailler comme deux groupes parallèles qui s'apportent l'un et l'autre d'une façon différente et objective.

Notre système de travail se résume à ceci. Tout ce qui ne regarde pas l'expression parlée se fait élèves anglais et français ensemble. Tout doit être traduit, ce qui représente une perte de temps, mais aussi pour ceux qui sont bilingues, c'est une façon de repasser la matière, c'est aussi une façon d'apprendre l'autre langue (je ne parlais pas l'anglais avant l'école, maintenant je le parle.)

L'étudiant doit sans cesse exiger ce droit à la traduction sans égard quelquefois pour un professeur ou des élèves fatigués de traduire. L'élève ou professeur doit s'imposer ce principe s'il veut que les deux langues et cultures soient entièrement respectées.

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Cette confrontation de deux cultures dans une même institution peut être à mon avis très positive. La CONNAISSANCE objective de l'autre permet une évolution parallèle, ce qui est la seule façon, d'après ce que j'ai vécu en 3 ans à l'Ecole nationale et surtout de comprendre l'autre. Pour moi, dans le pays, il faut apprendre de plus en plus à se connaître.

RAPPORT DE LOUISETTE DUSSAULT (3^e année française)

Une ECOLE BILINGUE! A quiconque en dehors de l'Ecole, ce terme veut sans doute dire que nous étudions le théâtre et en français et en anglais. Il n'en est rien. Nous côtoyons les Anglais, nous avons en commun des cours en langues anglaise et française, des conférences données dans les deux langues... Je regrette peut-être un peu de ne pas avoir carrément travaillé le répertoire anglais... mais après un an à l'Ecole, nous nous rendons vite compte que le répertoire français sera tout juste survolé et que nous aurons beaucoup à faire. A ce moment, les Anglais deviennent des compagnons pour les cours de mouvement, compagnons que nous ne verrons comme comédiens qu'à leurs spectacles public. Personnellement, leur contact m'a été profitable. J'ai appris, de leur façon d'être au théâtre, de leur organisation au sein du théâtre, de leur mentalité (mais oui!). Des contacts intéressants, des amitiés, des connaissances.

L'Ecole m'a peut-être donné la seule chance de vraiment voir vivre les Anglais, de vivre avec eux et en élargissant un peu notre petite vision du monde, de les comprendre.

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great guns in a class; just the sort of time that is psychologically right to ride the momentum and start "doing" what has been instructed, but the whole thing must be held up in order to wait for the "other" language.

Aside from the usual lack of temperament to be found in any like training centre, there is sometimes a clash of national temperament. Usually not about big issues either; but the small insidious ones that cause the real conflicts. A situation where the French reaction might be a noisy garrulous one; while the English will require silence; where the French will want to dash into something without further ado, and the English will be cautious. Oh, it could be all sorts of different things. And they are not things that are either right or wrong, and where a compromise can be reached; but a simple case of two honest reactions clashing in kind.

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A BRIEF SUBMITTED
to
THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
by
THE NATIONAL JAPANESE CANADIAN CITIZENS ASSOCIATION
APPENDIX "A"

A HISTORY
OF
THE JAPANESE CANADIANS
IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA

1877--1958

A
HISTORY

OF THE JAPANESE CANADIANS

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

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KEN ADACHI

WRITTEN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE HISTORY COMMITTEE OF THE
NATIONAL JAPANESE CANADIAN CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

1958

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This short history is one of the first steps towards accomplishing of the writing of a book-length national History of the Japanese Canadians. As such, it is only a factual account of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia and does not attempt to relate or analyse all of the many events that have occurred. The National JCCA hopes to publish a comprehensive History combined with first person accounts of some of the episodes in the near future.

PREFACE

Home to those immigrants who settled down, and the children who were born to them, was this evergreen province with its infinite variety. Home was the silent lakes, the brown, rushing rivers, the small manicured strawberry plots, the smoky woods, the rock-strewn defiles of the mountains, the rain and fog of the cities nestled along the Pacific. Their hopes and dreams were bound up in British Columbia.

But the promise of a brave new world was not theirs to be fulfilled. True, there were goodly people, but the white foam of discrimination and mistrust bubbled about them. And to sink their roots, to quell the scalding cry of the spirit, the agony of their souls, was not easy.

Then there was the evacuation, surely one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the province. And it was sad and bitter to be pushed out like troublesome boarders as if they were not part of the country. Whether the results achieved justified the tremendous expenditure of governmental effort, the taxpayer's money, and the large cost in mental anguish and economic loss of so many people, can best be judged for oneself. This wholesale unrooting and its aftermath is not one of the brighter chapters in the province's history; but it is one that cannot be erased or whitewashed.

The story of the Japanese in British Columbia, of all the groups in the province, is easily the most dramatic, and disturbing in its ramifications. It would take a rather fat volume to tell all the stormy story, a story that is unparalleled in Canadian history. No attempt is made here to cover all the details; in this brief length, this is but a study of broad movements and developments. No attempt, too, is made to raise moral judgments; the facts, as given here, should stand up.

The story of British Columbia's Japanese Canadians is unique. Withal, they have had their loves and lusts, their strengths and weaknesses, their long days of loneliness and fear. Many have gone eastward after the storm, never to return; others have come back. But for all, the roaring sound of rivers, the rustle of autumn leaves underfoot, the strange music of an embattled street, the giant timber reaching skyward presaging a promise, remain in the mind's eye. The memories of the long years are both good and bad.

I THE BEGINNINGS

1. The Arrival

The story of the Japanese in B.C. begins with the arrival of a small number of immigrants, following upon the emergence of Japan into the modern world from its feudal cocoon in 1867. Around 1884, small numbers of Japanese began to arrive in B.C., though for a decade, only about 1,000 Japanese were in Canada. It was from 1896 onwards, that immigration began on a significant scale, and they came in ever-increasing waves until by the turn of the century 4,738 Japanese were in Canada, 97 percent in B.C.

What attracted the Japanese to B.C.? Like any other immigrant group, the Japanese were drawn by the prospect of plentiful work and quick returns. The province was going through a period of economic expansion and development in which they could find easy access to employment. This prompted the immigrants to seek a quick fortune in B.C., and after this hope was grounded, to make a permanent home there. Again, the proximity of Japan to B.C. and its agreeable mild green climate made them settle in Canada's westernmost province. Only a negligible number resided outside of B.C. from the early days up to 1941.

It is generally accepted that the first Japanese to reach Canada was a highly enterprising and energetic sailor, Manzo Nagano. Nineteen when he arrived at New Westminster in 1877, Nagano was to spend the greatest part of 46 years in B.C. until finally he returned to Nagasaki in 1923. On his first trip to B.C., Nagano remained ashore, and with an Italian partner, spent two years in fishing on the Fraser River, the first of many Japanese to make a livelihood in this industry. In 1880 Nagano went on to Vancouver -- or Gastown as it was more commonly known -- where he worked as a lumberman.

He returned to the Orient, coming back in 1884 on a ship which was transporting 500 Chinese laborers from Hongkong to Port Moody. Nagano continued his itinerant life, touching again at New Westminster where he found about seven or eight Japanese engaged in fishing, and passing through Steveston where there were five Japanese living. He went to Seattle, and established a cigarette stand and restaurant; but again returned to Japan after a few years. In 1892 he was in Victoria where he opened a store dealing in Japanese novelties and goods. A few years later, he occupied himself in salting salmon and exporting it to Japan, especially to Hokkaido where the demand was great, realizing a tidy profit. Eventually, he brought a wife from Japan to Victoria, expanded his novelty store, opened a hotel, and organized a Japanese social club. During World War I when the Japanese warship "Izumo" docked at Esquimalt, Nagano presented some Canadian trees to the captain to be planted in Japan.

Thus Nagano's activities in B.C. indicate the peculiar kind of enterprise and industriousness for which the Japanese soon became noted, and for which they came to be feared. The later settlers, however, were

neither as nomadic or as successful as Nagano. For most of them, hopes of a quick fortune were soon dissipated, and they had to adjust themselves to the new life, gradually to sink roots deeper into the new soil. They were a hardy lot, these early pioneers, hard and strong and vital.

Another early arrival, Yasukichi Yoshizawa, became closely associated with the native Indians of the northern coast of B.C., and spoke their language freely. He is credited with opening up fishing for the Japanese in northern waters because he was the first to go as far north as the Skeena to investigate fishing conditions there. He set out in April 8, 1891, in a small boat, after quitting his job with the Hastings Lumber Mill in Vancouver, to take a look at the Northern coast. It took Yoshizawa and four others 42 days to reach the mouth of the Skeena, and they were met with amazement by the local inhabitants who had never seen a Japanese before. They found jobs in a cannery, and encouraged other Japanese to the district. Almost all of those early pioneers are dead; but what stories they would have had to tell.

During the turn of the century, new rail lines surged through the Rockies, and the rich resources of the coastal areas - the salmon, the minerals, the timber, and the land - were being tapped. The demand for manual labour in B.C. could not be met by immigrants from the remote Atlantic seaboard; the countries across the Pacific alone could provide sufficient manpower. Large Canadian concerns induced the immigrants to come under contract from the Orient. Two of these were the Wellington Colliery Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway. And so it was that there was the curious sight of Japanese immigrants working on the CPR, some of them wearing frock coats and top hats, shovel in hand. Such incongruity could only make them conspicuous, and consequently, one immigrant wryly relates "they couldn't be lazy".

At any rate, the contribution of these immigrants toward the early economic development of B.C. was noteworthy. A large number of them, however, remained in Canada only a short time: some moved on to the U.S. before 1901, some had come only as seasonal workers, many returned to Japan in disenchantment because of the rising tide of hostility and prejudice directed against them. As early as 1891, an attempt was made to introduce an anti-Japanese measure in the Legislature of B.C. by an amendment to a motion to increase the Chinese Head Tax from fifty to two hundred dollars and extending it to include the Japanese. This was only the first in a series of legislative attempts to enact laws of a restrictive nature, reflecting the sentiment of public unrest and fear, the flames of which were being fanned higher and higher until the climactic outburst in 1941. The proposal, however, was not given much support, the Dominion government disallowing such acts lest they should damage relations between Japan and Canada. But an early legislative attempt that did succeed was the 1895 extension of the provincial election act clause which deprived Chinese of the franchise to deprive the Japanese as well. It was to prove an important restriction.

Hostility continued to increase as the Japanese immigration question became increasingly difficult because in the last few years of the 19th century, the Japanese population began to increase rapidly. Mr. Carter-Cotton, provincial minister of finance and agriculture, pointed out, in February 1899, "it is unquestionably in the interests of the Empire that the Pacific province of the Dominion should be occupied by a large and thoroughly British population, rather than by one in which the number of aliens largely predominated and many of the distinctive features of a settled British community were lacking". And the Royal Commission which had been appointed in September 1901, to investigate Oriental immigration in B.C., reported that the economic rivalry that existed between the Japanese and Occidental workers was "creating a feeling so pronounced and bitter among a large class of whites, as to endanger the peace and be a fruitful source of international irritation". It further pointed out that the Japanese controlled the boat-building industry and were engaged in lumbering, mining, railway work and to a more limited extent in other operations. Already, little attempt was being made by the British Columbians to understand the Japanese.

Japanese immigration to B.C. grew after 1905; in the first ten months of 1907, for example, over 8,000 came in. Extreme discontent was felt over this influx. Indeed, anti-Oriental feeling was rife all along the Pacific Coast -- from B.C. down to California -- and it was not long before an Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in Vancouver. At its organization meeting, the members passed unanimously a resolution declaring that the Japanese were extremely aggressive and unless checked would ultimately control B.C., and that thus an alien race would secure a foothold in Canada dangerous in time of war. It was maintained that wage standards were being lowered by the Oriental influx and that the province's industries were passing in large part into the hands of the Japanese.

This influx in 1907 was partly a result of an American regulation prohibiting Japanese immigrants to Hawaii from securing passports to go to the mainland. Since it was no longer possible to get into the U.S. by way of Hawaii, immigrants then in the Islands turned to B.C. as an alternative. The S.S. Kumeric, for example, carried 1,177 Japanese immigrants in one voyage from Hawaii to Vancouver in that year. Most of them had heard rumours that Canada was full of rattle-snakes and offered low wages, but they reasoned that they could easily go over to the U.S. once they got on Canadian soil. The Kumeric passengers almost starved enroute when the crossing took several days longer than expected, and upon reaching Vancouver, so anxious were they to get off the ship that dock officials had to play hoses on them in order to disperse them. Some 800 spent the first night in Steveston huddled under old canvas in a cannery net warehouse.

The Kumeric immigrants formed only one of boat-loads of Japanese that continued to arrive; and as condemnation from press platform increased, the matter fermented into the angry rioting that broke out in Vancouver on September 7, 1907. The rumoured arrival of some 2,000 or more Chinese and

Japanese in the city sparked the outbreak. W.J. Bowser, a rising Conservative, had drawn up the "Bowser Natal Act", based on the Australian language tests designed to exclude Orientals from that Dominion, but Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir had refused to sign it, though it had been passed by the Legislature.

A civic mass meeting in Vancouver was organized by the Asiatic Exclusion League, and a mass parade was to march from Cambie Street grounds to the city hall. Early in the morning some 2,000 poured out of Cambie Street grounds with banners flying, and by the time the procession reached Hastings Street, the mob had increased to 5,000. At the city hall where an effigy of Dunsmuir was burned, at least 8,000 men gathered around. Inflammatory speeches were made by the leaders, hotly-worded resolutions were passed attacking Dunsmuir and calling for the resignation of Premier McBride. Outside the city hall, impromptu orators climbed telephone poles to harangue the crowd. Some 15,000 then began to march towards Pender Street, Chinatown's "main" street.

A stone tossed through the window of a Chinese store started the action; and considerable damage was done in Chinatown. But in the Japanese quarter, the mob did not fare as well. Armed with knives, broken beer bottles, clubs, the hardy Japanese beat off the mob until it dispersed. The Japanese then formed patrols, and no rioter could dent this protective cordon. They were beaten back if they tried. Under these conditions the mob could do little and the trouble subsided. A Royal Commission, under W.L. Mackenzie King, investigated the riot and set the total amount of damages to be paid to the Japanese at \$9,175.00.

The riot of 1907 resulted in the first concrete restriction of Japanese immigration. The political storm in Canada aroused by the riots continued. In Vancouver, Conservative party leader Robert Borden declared two weeks later, "B.C. must remain a white man's country ...". In 1908, the first Gentlemen's Agreement was announced. Japan agreed to permit only four classes of people to emigrate to Canada: first, returning immigrants and their wives and children; secondly, emigrants specially engaged by Japanese residents in Canada for bona fide personal or domestic service; thirdly, labourers under specifically-worded contracts approved by the Canadian Government; and fourthly, immigrants brought in under contract by Japanese resident agricultural holders in Canada. A total annual quota of 400 persons was fixed for all but the first group. In 1924, the agreement was modified to reducing the quota to 150 persons; and in 1928, a further limitation was introduced to include the wives and children of Japanese residents in Canada within the quota limitation.

After 1907, then, the total volume of immigration was substantially limited, but an even more significant change took place in the character of this immigration. Prior to 1907 the movement to Canada had consisted mainly of adult males. But following the first Gentlemen's Agreement, the number of female arrivals exceeded that of male immigrants in almost every year up to 1940. There were few females in B.C. before 1907. The first one, Mrs. Washiji Oya, landed in 1887 at Vancouver. Mrs. Naka Sekine, who came to Canada in 1890 when 14 years old, was another early arrival. Indeed,

Mrs. Sekine was one of the longest to reside in Canada, for she died in March, 1958, in Hamilton, Ontario, at the age of eighty-two. But these, and a few other women, were exceptions. In 1901, in the over 4,000 Japanese in Canada, nearly all were male; but by 1921 there were 10,500 males and 5,300 females, and of the total number, 4,300 were children born in Canada. By 1931, these figures changed to 13,000 males and 9,200 females.

The Japanese problem still festered despite these agreements. For example, in the autumn of 1908 in B.C., one of the chief issues of the federal general election was Oriental immigration. Conservative party candidates made capital of the unrest in B.C. by making a special bid for anti-Oriental votes with a "White Canada" slogan, and the election resulted in a severe reverse to the Liberal party in the province. Indeed, agitation for the exclusion of the Japanese was part of the general anti-Oriental movement in B.C., and the movement became more intense during the depression years since 1929.

British Columbia MPs and MLax also alleged that hundreds of Japanese were being smuggled into the country each year. But the Board of Review headed by Dr. H.L. Keenlyside which conducted extensive inquiries in 1938 reported that "it was generally agreed in official circles that very few Japanese had entered Canada illegally since 1932". After checking the allegations of illegal entry, the Board was convinced that these were without foundation.

One of the main reasons for the discontent in the province was the increase in native-born population. At first, migration of Japanese into Canada had been primarily of adult males, hoping for a quick and easy fortune. Thousands who came to Canada remained only briefly when they learned the actual conditions, but those who remained did so with serious intentions of permanent settlement. The immigration of the high percentage of women, and the establishment of family and home, meant that the movement now became one of immigrants arriving in B.C. with the intention of remaining, and perpetuating the continuing existence of the Japanese as a minority of importance in the life of the province.

2. Economic Expansion

Before 1941, over three fourths of the Japanese settlers in B.C. were clustered within 75 miles of Vancouver. The vast majority were in the city of Vancouver, in the villages of the Fraser Valley, and the coasts of Vancouver Island. Vancouver alone had over 8,000 of the 22,205 Japanese in the province. The majority of the remaining Japanese settled down in the Okanagan Valley, and along the fishing and lumbering centres on the mainland coast. It was this high degree of concentration in certain areas that led critics to point out that it was evidence of a sinister central control of their activities. Together with their rapid economic expansion, this contributed greatly to the stormy history of the Japanese.

The rapidity of their expansion into the economic life of the province can be seen when one notes that in 1893 they were in six occupations; four decades later, these occupations had enlarged to over 60. In the early years, the Japanese were occupied in the major industries such as lumbering, fishing, mining, and railroading; but they gradually moved out of these industries into farming and occupations of a commercial nature, such as the proprietorship of stores and restaurants, and businesses and professions. This shift occurred mostly in the twenties when general expansion came to an end in these major industries. Also, the restrictions against the Japanese in these industries, and their search for better living conditions and a higher social status in the community made them seek occupations in which they could exercise a greater measure of independence.

By 1931, then, the Japanese had entered every industry, and most of the occupations in the province. One critic, for example, wrote: "The Japanese produce most of the strawberries, and about half of the raspberries . . . The situation is steadily growing worse, but it is when one looks into the future that its true seriousness is most apparent".

The case histories of hundreds of Japanese families follow a fairly common pattern. First, the Japanese entered the economic life of the province as unskilled laborers, floating from job to job, receiving the lowest wages. Then, as they gained skill and knowledge, they were able to command higher wages and accumulate capital. This was followed by an initial investment in some kind of productive resources -- such as small farms, urban mercantile or service businesses ... and establishment of permanent homes. Their struggle for status, and the discrimination to which it gave rise, made them branch out into new fields, particularly that of agriculture. In general, the story is that of an upward struggle for economic stability or self-sufficiency - an economic independence offering in some degree protection from discrimination and the vagaries of employers.

Ever since they immigrated to Canada, the Japanese have been associated with fishing. The fishing village of Steveston, for example, by the turn of the century had about 2,000 Japanese. And later they were to be found on all the important fishing areas of the coast - from the Fraser River up to the northern boundary of the province. Bringing valuable experience from the homeland where many had been fishermen under Fujiyama's

shadow, the Japanese were an important factor in the development of this industry in B.C.

The fishing industry soon became the scene of an acute struggle for supremacy in the competition between the Japanese and the Occidentals and Indians. By 1901 the Japanese held over 2,000 fishing licenses, and it was estimated that over 4,000 Japanese were engaged in this industry. Indeed, complaints were made that they were driving others out of the industry; and, as a result, successful attempts to reduce licenses to the Japanese were made during the twenties so that by the period just before World War II, less than 15% of the total number of licenses were held by the Japanese. Nonetheless, they continued to be an important factor in fish production. Then, too, they were credited with the development of herring and dog salmon fishing, salt herring industries, and developing new markets for fish in the Orient.

Lumbering also has been closely associated with the Japanese. The more important communities where they were employed were Vancouver, New Westminster, Fraser Mills, Mission City, Woodfibre, Ocean Falls, Port Alice, Alberni, Royston, Fanny Bay and Courtenay. In Ocean Falls, for example, Japanese Laborers held in the clearing of land for the first sawmill in 1906. By 1900 they were in all branches of lumbering; again, this situation evoked the animosity of the white laborers. Every effort was made to drive them out of the industry; operators on provincial lands were threatened with the loss of their licenses if they employed Japanese, and Japanese operators were unable to retain their licenses or get new ones in the period just before World War I.

As in the fishing industry, restrictions were made against the Japanese until the numbers of those engaged in lumbering showed a serious decline. Yet some of the forest workers eventually became fairly large logging operators, and by 1933 there were some fourteen such operators in the province. The others continued to work as wage-earners in Vancouver or in the company towns on the mainland and on Vancouver Island.

By 1941, agriculture came to be the most important occupational endeavour of the Japanese. A great number of the immigrants had originally been farmers in Japan, and once they had accumulated enough capital, they bought or leased small farm lands. Also, they turned to farming because in other industries restrictions and agitations made it difficult to secure a livelihood with any degree of security.

Since they had only limited resources, they were unable to acquire developed farms in well-settled areas. They therefore took up uncleared lands and developed them into fertile farms of high productivity. Pioneering in the bushlands, they built up a thriving industry. Through hard work, irrigation, and perseverance, hundreds of acres of tomatoes, berries, and other vegetables and fruits grew in the Fraser Valley. On the shores of the Okanagan, apples and pears glistened in the sunlight. Lord Aberdeen's Coldstream Ranch in Vernon was the scene in the early 1900's where many Japanese learned the art of fruit farming. In 1927, for example, it was

estimated that the total agricultural acreage owned by Japanese in B.C. amounted to almost 10,000 acres valued at \$1,252,063.00. The greater number were engaged in mixed farming or soft fruit growing. Indeed, in berry growing, which was the chief branch of agriculture in which they engaged, they came to assume the dominant position among farmers. A secondary concentration occurred in the greenhouse industry, while individual operators built up important and substantial poultry farms, market gardens and nurseries.

The Japanese were also prominent in two major industries: mining and railroad construction. From the early nineties on, Japanese laborers were brought to work in mines under contract basis, until agitation eliminated further importation, and the number of workers steadily declined. They entered the railroading industry as early as 1899, and in 1907 the CPR contracted to import 1,000 laborers, though only 370 were actually brought because of protests. But just as in mining, the number of workers declined until it became negligible.

The early immigrants had looked for employment in the basic industries, but soon there was a trend towards settling into urban communities where they started modest retail and service establishments, especially in Vancouver. Again, as the majority of Japanese settled in one part of the province, so too in Vancouver, the majority tended to concentrate in three or four districts. "Little Tokyo", the main district, came to be located on the eastern outskirts of the business centre of the city. The principal thoroughfare was Powell Street, between Main and Campbell Streets, where they were located the commercial enterprises and community gathering places. But as more came to be able to afford it, they began a slight exodus into the better residential areas of the city.

In 1931, when the Japanese in Vancouver totalled 8,328, there were 858 trade licenses issued to Japanese; in other words, a license was issued to one out of every ten Japanese, whereas there was only one for every 21 non-Orientals. Consequently, there was talk of restricting the number of such licenses to the Japanese.

Thus the immigrants had started at the very bottom of the Canadian economic ladder -- as section workers on the railroads, domestics in the homes of the well-to-do, hired hands on farms. But by years of hard work and frugal living, they had acquired a stake in the land, ownership of their own fishing boats and equipment, or a small business in the cities, and a few had risen to positions of prominence and wealth.

3. The Rising Tide of Discrimination

Up to the years before 1941, then, the Japanese Canadians in general had become established economically, and the future held some hope despite the hostility that surrounded them. Immigration, too, had virtually ceased; the numbers still arriving were just a trickle. But life for the Japanese was a continuous struggle for a better standard of living and a higher social status. This naturally involved them in contact with the Occidental population. And their history evolved into a continual struggle to survive against the odds of discrimination.

The contacts of the Japanese with the Occidentals were virtually confined to the occupations in which they worked together. And when competition existed, the result was conflict. This conflict broke out into the open with such incidents as the 1907 riot, flared up after World War I when returning veterans found their jobs occupied by the Japanese, and gradually spread out from the few industries in which it arose. Public sentiment, too, became swayed by the grievances and accusations of the small minority of Occidentals who met and dealt with the Japanese in occupational situations.

Organized labor, in the early years, agitated strenuously against the admission of Japanese immigrants because they enjoyed unrestricted competition in the major industries. But later, labor realized that the solution to the problem was to invite the Japanese to become partners in its fight for higher wages and a shorter working week. They hoped to reduce their advantage in competition by raising the standard of living. The early antagonistic role of organized labor, however, was quickly filled by others, such as the farmers, fishermen and small business men who bore the brunt of competition as the Japanese gradually moved out of the class of laborers and assumed proprietorship, owning their own fishing boats, farms, and small businesses.

Nothing short of wholesale discrimination seemed to be the object of the agitators. The White Canada Association became the most militant of the groups together with such patriotic organizations as the Native Sons of B.C. and Native Sons of Canada. They were among a long line of similar organizations which played a prominent part in the anti-Japanese sentiment in the province. From the early days until after World War II, the province was never without at least one of these zealous groups which agitated against the Japanese. There were, of course, groups which sympathized with the Japanese. These included the financial and industrial leaders of the province who were friendly to the Japanese, mainly because of their commercial interests in the Orient, and a small group of educators and clergymen. The agitators, however, were the more vocal and aggressive group.

In 1902, the Legislature of B.C. passed a measure disenfranchising British citizens of Asiatic origin in the province of B.C. Those born in Canada and Japanese from Japan alike ceased to have the right to vote in B.C., though they could vote in the other provinces. Even those veterans who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France (197 Japanese

enlisted, of whom 54 were killed in action) were not granted permission to vote provincially or federally in B.C. until 1931. And only by a margin of one vote did the provincial legislature allow this exception.

What did this disenfranchisement mean? It meant exclusion from a whole series of activities in the political and economic life of the province. The Japanese Canadians could not become candidates for election to the Legislature, municipal councils, or the school boards; they could not vote in federal or municipal elections. Also, exclusion from the voters' list made them ineligible for certain professions such as pharmacy and law.

The Vancouver Province stated editorially in September, 1940: "Though of an alien race, they are our people. They are Canadians . . . The main trouble in B.C. is that those Canadian-born people are refused the provincial franchise -- which automatically also deprives them of Dominion franchise. Thus they have no votes. If they could vote, they would be treated fairly by politicians; they could protect themselves in a measure. As it is, they are at the mercy of any demagogue who wants to make capital out of prejudice against the Japanese".

Then, too, there were other restrictions against their earning a living. They were excluded by law from employment on timber leases, from obtaining licenses as hand loggers, from employment by a Government contractor. It was a general policy to exclude them from employment in provincial or municipal services or as school teachers. And a large number of Japanese had been eliminated from the fishing industry by reduction in the number of licenses granted to the Japanese. And so it went on. These restrictions presented a kind of legacy to the children of the immigrants born in Canada.

Then there were the occasional outbreaks of physical violence. In the Hallowe'en celebration of 1939, for example, a mob of some 300 Occidental youths invaded the Japanese shopping district on Powell Street, and caused several hundreds of dollars' damage to property. They smashed plate glass windows and looted stores, before a call to police headquarters brought sufficient officers to disperse the mob.

The Japanese, probably more than any other immigrant group in Canada, took full advantage of the educational institutions. They were very eager to give their children an education. Many of the second generation (the Nisei) went on to the more advanced schools; and the percentage of Nisei who entered university was not much below the percentage for the whole province, which was remarkable considering the economic standing of the parents. In the years 1916-1939, 55 Japanese students graduated from the University of British Columbia, entering into many fields. In scholarship, the second generation were considered generally equal, if not superior, to other school children. Then, too, their juvenile delinquency rates were conspicuously lower than those of other groups. Indeed, statistics have shown that the Japanese were among the most law-abiding citizens in the country.

Much criticism had been levied against the presence of Japanese language schools in which reading, writing, dictation and composition were taught for about two hours daily. Critics pointed out that they conflicted with the programme of the public schools, taxed the strength and injured the health of the children. They also resented the existence of the language schools as an indication of the natural loyalty to Japanese culture by adult members. But to the parents, the language school was a means by which they might lessen the distance between themselves and their children. They also felt that ability to read and write Japanese was a necessary adjunct because racial discrimination lessened job opportunities in the open market. As the international situation became more acute, however, the school issue was often used as a means of stirring up suspicion.

Life for the adolescent Nisei was pleasant enough in the schools where they cultivated friendships and won respect, but after high school, it became a succession of closing doors. Bewildering incidents such as segregation in theatres, and exclusion from public places such as the Crystal Pool in Vancouver, were commonplace. But despite the closing wedge of unfriendliness, the Nisei lived to a large extent like their white contemporaries. In music, sports, literature, and amusements, their interests were predominantly Western rather than Japanese.

It was when they began to seek employment that the full brunt of animosity was felt. Discriminatory measures, especially in occupational activities, were levied against them, though they were born in Canada. Educated in the schools of the province, brought up in its churches, denied the right to vote, they were aliens in the land of their birth, citizens without the basic rights of citizenship. Free social intercourse was closed to them because of economic differences which in turn were caused by inequality of vocational opportunities. As the Nisei were so limited in the field of employment, they often found themselves engaged in work with other Japanese, and consequently their personal daily contacts were largely confined to members of their own group. But through perseverance the Nisei hoped to gain acceptance and their rights as citizens. With restrictions barring his path on every hand, either because of popular feeling or because of law, the average Japanese found only a few lines of economic activity open to him. And these lines, practically without exception, were the least lucrative, the least promising, the most despised lines of economic servitude. For the Japanese Canadians, there existed no comfortable and lucrative jobs.

4. The Society

Like any other immigrant group, the Japanese partook of two worlds: the one which he shared with his fellow immigrants because it was a link with their past in Japan, and the other which he had in common with the other groups in the Canadian community. Then, too, there came to be a tremendous difference between the generation born in Canada (the Nisei) and the first generation of immigrants (the Issei), as the former came to be rapidly assimilated in the ways of the larger community.

Japanese Canadian society in the period before World War II was generally determined by the patterns of behaviour brought to Canada from Japan. Foremost of the ties were those associated with the family as the basic social unit. In brief, it was this: the men were looked upon as the backbone of the family, with the father as the supreme authority; the women were in the position of complete obedience as were the children; and the selection of mates was controlled by the parents. This was the traditional pattern. So naturally there were conflicts as the children born and educated in Canada grew up, and rebelled against this rigid authoritarian system. It differed in almost every respect with the typical Anglo Saxon ideas of the family unit.

The break between the two generations, Issei and Nisei, tended to get wider as the Japanese became more settled. The children went to school, learned English, and acquired Western habits and cultural traits -- different from those their parents knew. Most of the Issei felt themselves unable to change or reconcile themselves to the change in the Nisei as the latter grew to become more and more independent. Yet, the second generation, compared with other children in the communities in which they lived, were thought to be models of propriety. Although becoming more assimilated, they still displayed the qualities of perseverance and industriousness which enabled their parents to succeed. In the educational institutions of the province, for example, the Nisei made enviable reputations for themselves.

But the lot of the second generation was not entirely happy. On the one hand, they were criticized by their parents for adopting the habits of the Occidentals -- they were accused of lacking industry and thrift and determination; on the other hand, they were attacked by Occidentals because they retained the physical characteristics of their parents. The lot of the second generation was bewildering. As the products of Japanese culture, the parents remained devoted to the old system; the children, on the other hand, became advocates of the new. This, no doubt would be true of any immigrant group, but in the case of the Japanese, the issues were more pronounced because of the provincial discrimination and restrictions practised against them.

The majority of the immigrants were Buddhists, but the development of an organized Church was slow, particularly because of the antagonism of Occidentals who felt it was another manifestation of Japanese imperialism. The first Buddhist temple was opened in Vancouver in 1905, and a priest brought over from Japan. In 1934, the Buddhist Church in B.C. consisted of five missions and six branches, with a total membership of about 1,500.

And though the organization of the Church improved, the hold of Buddhism greatly declined, though nominally it was the largest group with 14,707 being listed as Buddhists.

Christianity, on the other hand, experienced unusual progress in the first four decades since the Japanese first settled. In 1931, there were 7,239 Japanese Christians in the province, almost one-third of the total population, with the United Church of Canada the most popular Christian denomination. One of the reasons for conversion to Christianity was the fact that the Christian Church was the first, and perhaps the only, important institution that aided the Japanese in the early years.

One of the remarkable growths among the communities was the development of organizations; in 1934, there were about 230 units of religious and secular organizations, 84 of them in Vancouver alone. Indeed, the Vancouver community was in nearly all respects the focal centre of all the communities in the province, the centre of activity and influence. These were such groups as the "ken-jin-kai" or prefectural associations, whose membership was made up of immigrants from the same prefecture or province in Japan. Then, too, there were many specialized groups such as trade associations, barbers, rooming house proprietors, gardeners, dry cleaners, etc., as well as educational, cultural, and political groups. One of the most influential was the Canadian Japanese Association, organized in 1897, which aided many immigrants to find positions, learn English, maintain a high moral standard, encouraged immigrants to become naturalized, and combatted discrimination. The CJA, which claimed to represent the entire Japanese community, had a pronounced nationalistic basis, having close associations with the Japanese consulate. Its leadership was in the hands of the more wealthy businessmen. The Camp and Mill Workers' Union, which presented a challenge to the CJA's authority and prestige, advocated co-operation with the Occidentals, rather than the separatist tendencies of the CJA. Its leaders represented a bloc of younger Issei, some with a broader education and a white-collar background. It was organized in 1920 for the purpose of promoting trade unionism among Japanese, and attempted to educate immigrants to Western standards and customs. Thus it believed that the future of the Japanese in Canada depended upon co-operation with Occidentals and that prejudice could be overcome by a positive approach. In 1931, it was instrumental in having the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada endorse the request of the Nisei for "equality of treatment and full rights of citizenship". It even published a daily newspaper in Japanese, one of the three vernacular dailies in Vancouver.

In some of the smaller communities, the trade organizations, such as fishermen's associations, served to protect the occupational interests of their members, combat restrictions, and function generally in the interest of the Japanese community, giving financial and moral guidance and leadership. To the suspicious however, these organizations gave rise to the belief that they were under some kind of central control, that some kind of national genius directed the "peaceful penetration" into Canada of people of Japanese descent.

Up to 1941, the first generation immigrants still dominated the community to a large extent. But for ten years, the ferment of independence had been brewing within the Canadian-born second generation. The challenge to traditional community authority had reached by the time of World War II, the stage of scarcely disguised defiance. The Nisei citizenship movement culminated in the Japanese Canadian Citizens League, organized in spring of 1936, with chapters located in various parts of the province. The JCCL was in essence the institutionalized medium of a political rebellion. It was the first organized stage in the evolution of the second generation who had come to realize their unique status in the national life of Canada. The JCCL made repeated attempts to secure the united support of all Nisei organizations, tried to provide for the social requirements of the second generation, attempted to aid in development of new Leaders through the sponsorship of oratorical and essay contests, and held forums to provide open discussion of various problems. They took part in various congresses of youth groups and took every possible opportunity to interpret the aims and aspirations of the Japanese Canadians to the public.

Thus since about 1930, the change in community structure was taking place with the emergence of the second generation as a growing voice in the community. And by the time the evacuation came in 1942, the shift from the dominance of the old generation to the new was well under way. The second generation began about the mid-thirties to appeal vigorously for the removal of discriminatory restrictions, the right to vote; in short, to be given the rights of Canadian citizenship. In 1936, a delegation appeared in Ottawa before the Special Committee on Elections and Franchise Acts of the House of Commons to request a revision of the legislation which prevented them from voting. This was the beginning of their formal agitation for the franchise.

An important event in this shift was the publication of The New Canadian, which first appeared on November 24, 1938, and was the only newspaper to continue publishing through the wartime period. The newspaper, through the efforts of editor Thomas Shoyama who guided it through most of the trying years, continually agitated for unconditional acceptance in Canadian life for Japanese Canadians and provided an organ for the articulate members of the second generation to voice their opinions not only to their own group but to the Canadian public at large. The Nisei, too, were beginning a period of self-scrutiny: a few were looking to resettlement in the eastern provinces for better economic and social opportunities; others advocated the assumption of pioneering in the whole field of human relationships by meeting the hard facts of life and trying to overcome them.

Life in the Powell Streets of B.C. cannot really be relegated to a set of statistics, nor did it consist of sombre incidents alone. There was laughter, too, though behind it was inescapably the hint of tears; their life was shot through with sunlight and shadow. There were idle, carefree chatter, friendly happy faces, the sound of merry tunes, the echoing noise of ball on bat, the strange mingled smell of burnt toast and sukiyaki. The Powell Streets were much more than streets; they were, as one of their young poets put it, their main streets, dream streets, park avenues, wall streets, and for the second generation they were "the nucleus of a grander scheme", a brave new world to come.

II PEARL HARBOUR AND EVACUATION

1. The Established Notions

Then came December 7, 1941, when the bombs fell at Pearl Harbour and sundered the Canadian and Japanese nations violently apart. The 20,000 Japanese Canadians became helpless victims as tensions and prejudices flared up in the Pacific coast province.

There had been many charges hurled against the Japanese in the years when the prospect of the war spreading to the Pacific area loomed large. So acute was the war agitation that late in 1940 the federal government had undertaken to ease the situation by appointment of a special committee of inquiry. In January, 1941, Prime Minister Mackenzie King tabled the report of the Committee which urged the importance of checking irresponsible attacks upon the Japanese in B.C. as "an integral part of civil security and national defense." It was also announced that a special registration of all persons of Japanese ancestry would be immediately undertaken by the federal police as a key supervisory measure. It is noteworthy that the Prime Minister agreed with the Committee's report: "After careful study of the entire question, it is the opinion of the committee, and in this the government fully shares, that the most serious danger in the B.C. situation is that arising from ill-informed attacks against the loyalty and integrity of the Oriental population."

Before Pearl Harbor, there had long been a fear of invasion of the coast, and there had also been a long established desire to expel the Japanese Canadians from the province forever. Pearl Harbor created the immediate possibility of the first, and gave an opportunity for the second. What followed December 7, 1941, was the complete disruption of the Japanese Canadians from their normal tenor of living: a programme of complete evacuation, resettlement, and an attempt at deportation.

Even before Pearl Harbor, the people of the province had been persuaded to look on the Japanese Canadian residents as a menace. Almost every conceivable device was used to create a mounting impression that all people of Japanese ancestry were sly, sinister, unprincipled, biologically more fertile than the white man, and incapable of loyalty to Canada.

One of the major charges levied against the Japanese was that they were satisfied with a low standard of living and thus were disinclined to become Canadians in the full sense of the word. The agitators looked at the rundown Powell Street settlement of Vancouver and the fishing village of Steveston, and decided that the Japanese were a threat because of a low standard of living. Yet, it was attributable to racial discrimination that the Japanese were forced to remain in such conditions: people were not eager to sell or rent to Japanese Canadians in the better areas, legislation also made it difficult for them to raise their standards of living and occupations. Then, too, many Japanese had improved their homes; the group as a whole was blamed for the more conspicuous poorer ones.

The "inassimilability" of the Japanese was another well-worn theme; it was presented as enough reason to send all Japanese Canadians to Japan. A low standard of living, the existence of Japanese language schools, the self-sufficient communities -- all these, and more, seemed to the agitators to be enough reason. The catch phrase, "peaceful penetration", was also aired, pointing attention to what was thought of as an insidious infiltration into Canada by the Japanese immigrants. In short, the agitators felt that all activities were controlled by the Government of Japan; for example, that Japanese fishing was an attempt to learn and occupy strategic positions for eventual military operations. It was a thoroughly digest notion that the fishermen could not be trusted. Another was that the Japanese government supplied the capital for the establishment of businesses. Agitators could not, nor did want to, distinguish between the people of Japan and the Japanese Canadians. Some extremists had political careers resting in a large degree upon their opposition to the Japanese.

The dawn attack on Pearl Harbor could only precipitate these and other established notions which had been nurtured for such a long time. If there ever was a chance to realize the wish of ridding the province entirely of its Japanese, this was it. Only a small minority of individuals and groups, such as the Vancouver Consultative Council and the CCF Party, which lost many a vote by its stand, tried to understand the situation rationally. An incredible network of organized propaganda by interests willing to use any bludgeon to gain their ends had been in existence, and sprang into action.

One incident demonstrates the tactics used. Long before the war, in 1937, the brother of the Emperor, Prince Chichibu, had visited Vancouver. After his departure The Vancouver Sun received a letter, signed with five Japanese names, protesting that this city had not shown proper respect for the Prince. Needless to say, it roused the anger of the city. A group of Nisei were convinced that the letter was bogus, written only to arouse feeling against the Japanese community. They investigated, found that no Japanese existed with the names on the letter, and reported to the Sun which readily agreed that the letter was a fake. Yet after the wartime agitation began, this letter was dramatically used by apparently reputable interests and reported in the Sun, to show that the Japanese had close and mysterious links with Japan. And those interests knew that the letter was a fabrication. Lacking the franchise, and with the attack led by politically important groups, the Japanese Canadians became victimized in the succession of events that followed.

2. Pressure and Policy

The Japanese, foreign-born and native-born alike, were re-registered on a voluntary basis by the Standing Committee on Orientals in January, 1941, but after Pearl Harbor this was made compulsory. This was the first in a series of official acts which set aside privileges of citizenship. Letters to the editor of British Columbia newspapers urged, increasingly, that all Japanese be removed and held in detention; no effort was made to discriminate between citizen or non-citizen, loyal or disloyal. Cooler heads suggested that consideration be given to them, but the pressure of ingrained hostility fermented by war-produced emotionalism soon prompted the evacuation.

The advent of war meant more to the Japanese than any other single group in Canada, for they were caught between their feelings of loyalty to Canada and the distrust of the Occidentals who would not let them be Canadians. The New Canadian immediately after Pearl Harbor stated editorially: "There must be now, just as there has been in the past, complete, unswerving loyalty to the country that has given us birth, protection and sustenance ... This tragic conflict will set back, but it must not destroy our hopes and aspirations to walk with honour and with equality as Canadians among all Canadians". In spite of it all, among the people "there is an air of confidence, a continuing belief that they need not despair." But it was not to be.

This "air of confidence" was destroyed in the swift weeks that followed as the Japanese were branded as "enemy aliens". Few British Columbians had reduced the question of defense to a purely rational basis, where they could distinguish between resident immigrant Japanese and those now become enemies. Unemployment faced the Japanese on large scale, and day-to-day routine became upside down. Rocks were thrown through some grocery store windows, saw mill hands were laid off in Vancouver, arson was attempted at one rooming house on Alexandra Street. A mingled fear and strain settled over Powell Street and all the other communities in the province.

There was little doubt that the Pacific Coast was suffering from the worst attack of war nerves in its history. And the Japanese community, which was attacked so flagrantly even in times of peace, was taking the worst beating since the riots of 1907. Fishing boats were impounded, and later brought down under naval escort from Steveston, Nanaimo, the upper Fraser, the gulf islands, and up coast, to be anchored at the New Westminster breakwater. Eighteen hundred fishermen, their wives, and children were affected. Some vessels were sunk after clumsy collisions in the heavy seas and fog, others allowed to drift up on the beach, and many delicately tuned engines were mishandled so that they were practically ruined.

There were a few weeks of relative calm immediately after Pearl Harbor, but by the end of the year, Members of Parliament from B.C., local Conservative and Liberal Associations, City and District Councils,

labour unions, veterans associations, and community service groups, all moved towards demanding the removal of all Japanese "east of the rockies". Alderman Halford Wilson of Vancouver was one of the most vociferous in the crescendo of demands. Thomas Reid, who with other MPs such as Ian Mackenzie, A.W. Neill and Howard Green, were among the most outspoken anti-Japanese political leaders, told the East Burnaby Liberal Association on January 15, 1942: "Take them back to Japan. They do not belong here and there is only one solution to the problem. They cannot be assimilated as Canadians for no matter how long the Japanese remain in Canada they will always be Japanese". In the interior cities such as Vernon, Kamloops and Kelowna, anti-Japanese agitation was also moving quickly in time and tempo with that of the coast. All of these individuals and groups, then, kept up a sustained drive for eleven weeks, until Mackenzie King's announcement of complete evacuation on February 26, 1942. Spring was an impossible dream for the Japanese Canadians.

Thus the wholesale evacuation was never conceived as a conscious policy from the beginning by the Federal Government; rather it was forced upon the government by pressure from B.C. The initial action of the Government was basically of a precautionary nature. Some forty Japanese nationals allegedly dangerous to the security of the state, were detained on December 8, 1941, under the Defense of Canada regulations, most of whom were cleared and released from custody within a year's time. Under advisement of police, the 59 Japanese language schools and three vernacular newspapers closed down voluntarily to avoid, as the RCMP put it, "misunderstandings or ill-feelings on the part of the whites who might resent the existence of newspapers printed in the language of the enemy".

On January 14, 1942, partial evacuation was announced. A "protected area" was established from which "all enemy aliens" would be excluded. Strict surveillance of all Japanese nationals was to be continued, with prohibitions on use of short-wave radios and cameras. It was proposed that the exclusion of Japanese Canadians from the Armed Forces should be continued. And on February 5, 1942, the Minister of Justice ordered all male enemy aliens of 18 to 45 years to leave the protected coastal area, before April 1. The "protected area" was a narrow 100 mile wide strip bounded on one side by the Pacific Ocean, the other by the Cascade Range, reaching from Alaska and ending at the U.S. border. It contained practically all the Japanese communities in the province. The first contingent of 100 Japanese male nationals left Vancouver to disembark February 24 at Rainbow and Lucerne, B.C., deep in the snows of the Canadian Rockies - the vanguard of some 1,700 male nationals who were to be removed from the coast and placed on federal road projects for the duration.

But this moderate policy was a failure as pressure and impatience over the inaction of the Government increased. Singapore, after all, had fallen on February 15. In quick order, a whole series of repressive measures, unlike anything before in the history of the nation, were authorized. The new orders, in effect, uprooted completely some 20,000

men, women and children, and reduced to nothing the concept and value of Canadian citizenship. On February 26, Orders-in-Council announced that all prohibitions with regard to a number of special articles such as radios and cameras, and automobiles were extended to Canadian citizens of Japanese descent in B.C. as well. RCMP officers were authorized to search without warrant any house or premise and to seize any of the special articles. A curfew regulation was introduced confining everyone to their homes between sunset and sunrise. And finally, every person of Japanese race, citizen and alien, was ordered "to leave the protected area forthwith." These were restrictions amounting in sum to a practical application of martial law.

3. The Removal

The rules of a shattered world crumbled faster and closer around 20,000 bewildered people in the first week of March, as governmental machinery moved on with its work. By early spring of 1942, the 20,000 Japanese had reached what was probably the lowest status that any group of comparable size had ever experienced. They had been removed from their homes by governmental fist. They had lost all freedom of movement and practically all opportunities of engaging in private employment and earning anything more than a subsistence livelihood. Jobs of long years' standing had gone, businesses and homes, farms and stores, built up with years of toil were gone. The fruit of struggle and labor, that an aging generation had hoped to enjoy in its old age, was snatched away. The hopes and ambitions of a rising generation of Canadians were dashed to the ground. Family ties, between husband and wife, father and children, brother and sister, were torn apart. The Japanese were a lonely crowd, hemmed in by the masses of indifferent or hostile Canadians, with only a handful of people believing in them.

That there was no evidence, based upon military information or upon the practical results of measures already taken, which justified the removal of the Japanese, was ignored. On March 4, the B.C. Security Commission was created for carrying out the tasks of removal. Punishment of any person contravening or failing to comply with the regulations was set: maximum fine of \$500.00 or a prison term of twelve months. Six months in jail with hard labor was the sentence imposed by a Vancouver magistrate on Sotaro Saki, 66, who was found violating curfew. The Commission, on the basis of the War Measures Act, had been given complete authority to regulate completely the life of all Japanese, regardless of citizenship.

The actual evacuation took nine months, from early February through October of 1942. The first stage for those living outside Vancouver was from their homes to Hastings Park Clearing Station, and the second from the Park to interior B.C. Two buildings used for the annual exhibitions, the Women's Building and the Livestock Building, were leased for four months. Both of these buildings underwent almost complete renovation as civilian workers and soldiers installed wash basins, toilets and baths. And a new experience in communal living began for the evacuees.

At the peak of its population, on September 1, there were 3,866 in the Park, and though people left for interior points each day since the first evacuees entered the Park on March 16, it was not until September that large numbers were evacuated daily. Also, some families went directly to the sugar beet projects in Alberta or to other employment, and the majority of the Vancouver residents were moved directly to interior points.

There was great confusion and disorder both in the orders and the

carrying out of the first stages of evacuation... Some people living in remote places received as little as 24 hours' notice. One resident of Hyde Creek could do nothing with his household and real property because he was given only two hours' notice to vacate. Persons in Cumberland were given a week's notice to move to Hastings Park, and were told that one suitcase and one clothesbag were the only baggage allowed. This situation was repeated in numerous cases; many people departed with only the barest necessities and could make no arrangements for the care of property or household goods because of the precipitate nature of the evacuation.

A report published by the B.C. Security Commission on April 6, 1942, stated 20,000 would be moved to one of four projects: male nationals chiefly to roadwork in the province; the majority of the second generation to Ontario roads or industry; farming and fishing families to Southern Alberta and Manitoba; thousands of women and children to "ghost towns in the interior". Evacuation of Canadian-born males of Japanese origin out of the protected area had gotten underway on March 27, 1942, when 133 men left for Schreiber, Ontario. But husbands and fathers were loathe to leave for work elsewhere since they had no definite knowledge as to what would happen to their families.

It was expected at first that 4,000 men would be moved to road camps to work on the miles of new highways that the province needed so badly to join inland areas to the coast. The Japanese would provide cheap labor, and it would be possible to keep them under strict guard. And since many communities and provincial governments indicated that they did not want the Japanese to be moved into their regions, it was thought that sending the males to road camps and the women and children to ghost towns would solve the problem. But cheap rates of pay -- a basic 25 cents an hour rate with deductions of \$22.50 for board, and in the case of a married man, a deduction of \$20.00 for the family, -- meant that a pittance of \$7.50 would remain per month for clothing and incidentals. Insecurity, separation from family, anxiety over the disposition of property at home, harassed the men.

But many of the 26 different road projects which the Security Commission listed were located where there was possibility of sabotage; consequently, the Department of National Defense objected. Also, a number of men objected to going such a long way to places such as Schreiber, Ontario, and thus become separated from families. These difficulties, therefore, made the Commission revise its policy slightly, and make plans for all married men to rejoin their families "before winter" of 1942.

Family groups at this time also moved to sugar beet growing areas of Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. These agricultural areas took on new importance during the war when sugar became scarce, and such a project allowed the Japanese to be moved in family groups. Thus by June 25, 1942, beet projects had taken 3,879 persons from B.C.'s "protected area".

4. The Ghost Towns

Settling down in the ghost towns of southeastern B.C. in the Kootenay Lake and Slocan Valley areas - Greenwood, Slocan City, New Denver, Kaslo, Roseberry, Sandon, Lemon Creek, - plus the Hope, B.C. centre, and Tashme, was marked by confusion and hardships for the 11,964 evacuees. These towns were former mining towns renovated to receive the influx of evacuees, and, in the case of Tashme, a newly constructed camp. Ghost towns partially solved the problem of the shortage of construction supplies; the movement of evacuees would also stimulate business for local residents. But the houses, whether renovated or newly built units, were mostly congested. Small hotel rooms, about 12 by 14 feet, sometimes housed as many as seven occupants. Most of the "new" houses were hastily built, tar-papered three-room frame structures. In the early months, some of the men in the Slocan project even lived in tents. A semblance of normal domestic life had to be hewn out of crude surroundings. Families had to adapt themselves to the routine of lamps and candles, water from outside taps, double-decker beds, community baths, and primitive sewage facilities. And it was a long time before electricity, sewage and running water taps were installed in some of the towns.

For most of the evacuees who had lived for years in the temperate coastal climates, the heavy cold and snow of the first winter proved to be a hardship, especially as the houses and the green firwood hardly provided protection against the elements. Congestion also meant that families had to share cooking facilities; as many as fourteen families had to share one large stove in some of the old hotels. Most of these evacuee centres afforded lovely vistas: Slocan City, for example, was nestled beside a lake, sheltered by mountains, and full of houses that were relics of a romantic and flamboyant past. Indeed, a sense of the past made itself felt in these ghost towns with their old hotels and buildings, the exciting days of the mining booms. But the evacuees were more conscious of the delapidation, leaky roofs, rough splintered floors and frozen water pipes.

Yet, because the Canadian government did not wish to cause any international incident -- or any reprisals by the Japanese government on Canadians living in Japan or any of the conquered areas -- by having a Japanese Canadian die from medical neglect, medical care and treatment were adequate in these interior settlements. The Jackson Royal Commission which investigated these towns in March, 1944, stated that they were "reasonably adequate", insofar as they were "temporary means of meeting an emergency". But the Commission also confirmed the indictment of the provincial government in refusing "to take any responsibility for the education" of the children.

Indeed, in the matter of education for the evacuated children, the provincial Department of Education evaded any kind of responsibility. It refused to be liable for any part of the cost of educating them. Thus the federal government had to assume the task, though it was not

until December, 1942, that the schools became ready for operation. In the Bay Farm and Lemon Creek centres in the Slocan Valley, they were not ready for 1,200 children until April, 1943. In the self-supporting projects such as Christina Lake, Minto, Bridge River, and East Lillooet, arrangements were made with local school boards as few children were involved. But in the case of the large centres, most of the children lost a year of education before the makeshift schools became ready. Even at that, the Security Commission arranged only for public school education; kindergarten and high school work were carried on by the churches, and correspondence courses in high school work had to be undertaken by the student at his own expense.

Providing sufficient and competent teachers was also a problem. In the settlements, there were only two trained teachers since a teaching career was not possible among the Japanese Canadians before the war. Thus the bulk of the teaching had to be done by volunteers among the ranks of university and high school graduates. But with poor facilities and environmental conditions, the system was not all that could have been desired. Most of the schools even lacked blackboards, an obvious necessity, as well as an adequate supply of textbooks. In Tashme, for example, the school was a barn divided into rooms by part-way partitions which created difficulties in terms of discipline and acoustics.

5. Nisei Enlistment

It was not until early in 1945 that the bars against Nisei enlistment in the Canadian army were lifted after five years of struggle against official discouragement. In the years before the war, the official policy of excluding Japanese from service was rooted in anti-Japanese feeling. After Canada made its historic declaration of war when Hitler let loose his legions upon Poland, a group of Nisei offered their service and pledged their loyalty in a telegram to Ottawa. It was not long before Nisei throughout scattered parts of the province were volunteering, only to be rejected.

New agitation was rising, too, about this time as the Rome-Berlin Tokyo Axis began to assume clearer shape. And when the National Resources Mobilization Act became effective in the latter part of the summer of 1940, the question of service for Japanese Canadians became acute. A number of Nisei received official notices ordering them to report for medical check-up in connection with military service. Medicals were completed, but no calls came. The Vancouver City Council requested the Dominion Government not to call up the Japanese if it meant giving them the Dominion franchise. And in December, 1940, the special elections committee of the B.C. Legislature decided, despite opposition by CCF members, that Canadian-born Orientals, even though they served would not be entitled to vote at the next provincial election.

In January, 1941, Prime Minister King stated that in accordance with a recommendation of its investigating commission, it had been decided for the time being that Canadian-born Orientals would not be drafted. This decision was assailed by representatives of 25 Nisei groups, who asked for the same treatment accorded to all Canadians. This exemption had set the Japanese community further apart from the rest of the country.

The commission's report had declared emphatically that there was no evidence of disloyalty, and it denounced the racist campaign against the Japanese. It stated that hostility towards "the Japanese had been deliberately inflamed by certain individuals .. for personal political advantage". But since the situation in B.C. might further be complicated by acts committed outside of Canada, these might provoke action against the Japanese, and if there were Japanese in the armed forces of Canada, these might be in danger of attack by "less responsible elements among their comrades".

But it was plain to the leaders of the Nisei that Japanese Canadians in uniform would be the most powerful factor in influencing public opinion for the good. A suggestion of an all-Nisei unit was turned down. One Nisei even rode the freights to Calgary hoping that anti-Japanese prejudice would not deter him from enlistment east of the Rockies, but to no avail. Pearl Harbor spelled finis to their struggle for enlistment, at least for a while.

But by 1943, the need for linguist personnel in the war against Japan was urgent, and only in Canada was there any large number of personnel who could be trained for the job. And as the focus of war moved closer to the Pacific, the need became more urgent. Thus the Intelligence arm of the Pacific Command urged enlistment of Japanese Canadians who could qualify for overseas service after a short course at S-20, the Japanese Language School in Vancouver. Forms were provided for Nisei in eastern cities; while in B.C., RCMP officers toured the ghost towns in search of men who would be interested in volunteering for special service -- not with the Canadian Army, but with the British Army. Finally, in February, 1945, a number of Nisei were to proceed to London for service with Lord Louis Mountbatten's South East Asia Command. But they were expected to cross the Atlantic in civilian capacity, and to enlist there in the British Army. The Canadian Army still would not accept them.

A sudden change in Canadian policy allowed this first group to be inducted into the Canadian Army. Without benefit of training, they embarked for India, on loan for special duties with the British Imperial Forces. The recruiting of Nisei volunteers began immediately after; by the time V-J Day came, Nisei were entering the service at recruiting depots across the country. About 150 were finally in uniform, almost all of them evacuees from the B.C. coast. Some of them aided the Allies in liaison work in the occupation of Japan, and others acted as interpreters and translators in India, Burma, Malaya and other far flung South East Asian areas.

III AFTER THE EVACUATION: THE ISSUES

1. Dispersal and Relocation

In his speech of August 4, 1944, Prime Minister King stated that it was desirable for the Japanese to be dispersed across Canada. Since this could be done by persuading the Japanese in B.C. to take work in the eastern provinces where there had been labor shortages, it was hoped that many of them would take advantage of the Commission's offer to pay rail fare, a small meal allowance, and a resettlement allowance to settle permanently.

Since the men who first went east in 1942 were successful in providing for themselves, the Department of Labor had begun to consider the possibilities of a larger-scale movement eastward. But the resettlement program was never formulated as a policy until after the evacuation was completed. Rather, it emerged out of the relocation program of temporary residence outside the "protected areas", which was all that had been thought possible when evacuation was carried out in 1942. Prior to 1946, however, resettlement did not mean the restoration of any of the pre-war rights of citizenship or the sense of freedom that the evacuee might have had. No resettled Japanese, for example, could acquire or hold land, grow crops in Canada, or buy houses. And some local councils, as in Toronto, refused to issue trade licenses. For those still in B.C., resettlement in the east imposed a difficult problem, especially since in the spring of 1945 all Japanese over 16 years were asked to declare themselves either as "repatriates" who would eventually go to Japan, or if unemployed in B.C. as resettlers willing to go "east of the Rockies".

Ontario and especially Toronto became the focal point of resettlement. At first about 700 were allowed to enter the city as residents and workers. But in the latter part of 1943 Toronto was made a closed city by the Board of Control. To many of the evacuees still in the evacuation camps, then, the east came to be known as an "unfriendly" area due to reports of the restrictions and spasmodic cases of race prejudice that occurred.

The decision to resettle in the east was one that assumed major proportions in the life of the evacuee still in B.C. It involved the taking of risks, breaking up the family unit in most cases, lack of training for new kinds of work, fear of the reported racial discrimination, and the general lethargy resulting from life in the ghost towns. Of the 15,610 Japanese in B.C. at the end of 1944, over 10,000 were living in ghost towns. And for these people, after the traumatic experience of the forced evacuation and the many painful experiences they had undergone, their confidence was low. And the future was uncertain and unclear. Moving once more would involve more insecurity and risks. The average evacuee disliked the crude discomfort and boredom of his interior B.C. abode, but feared and mistrusted the distant horizon more. A kind of dry rot had set in. In the early stages, it was only the more enterprising of the evacuees who did move eastward in an effort to establish themselves independently.

And although life in the interior settlements had many undesirable aspects, it did present a kind of haven from being bundled here and there by the government, and from rejection by Canadian society. Work, too, was available in interior B.C., and this was another temporary security that tended to hold the Japanese back from re-settlement. In spite of efforts to get people moving in a second eastward evacuation, volunteers were few; the majority preferred to remain where they were. Thus by the summer of 1943 resettlement was going very slowly, and by 1944 it had almost ceased.

Efforts were made by the federal government to enforce re-settlement. Extensive slashes in payroll in all interior towns were made so that no able-bodied men would be employed "except where absolutely necessary". Early in 1943, it was decided that unmarried Canadian citizens, males 18 to 55 years, who were unemployed would be subject to National Selective Service as would any other Canadian citizens. The evacuees reacted unfavourably to this because they had been evacuated on a basis of race rather than citizenship. And groups at New Denver, Kaslo, Lemon Creek, and Slocan sent protests and petitions to Ottawa. At the same time, because of the wartime labor shortage, various lumber concerns in the Kootenay area and orchard owners in the Okanagan Valley asked that evacuee workers be kept in the area until the end of the war.

But although the compulsory feature of the Selective Service was abandoned, and single males were once more allowed to take jobs in B.C., opposition was still raised against the newer plan of inducement; and often, people suspected of accepting eastern jobs were ostracized by others. Not until the segregation program was put in effect in April, 1945, was there any great change in the increase of the number of resettlers. As a result of that program, about two-thirds of the Japanese in Canada had moved outside B.C. by the end of 1946.

2. The Repatriation Issue

Probably the most important step taken by the government to settle for once and for all the problems of the restless evacuees was the segregation program. Announced in 1944, it was started in March, 1945. In 1944, the anti-Japanese elements in B.C. had been unhappy with the lack of government pronouncements about the final disposition of the problem. The whole thing seemed to hang in the air. Several of the anti-Japanese MPs expressed their disappointment in the House of Commons, and they pressed for complete deportation of all Japanese, regardless of citizenship as the best and final solution.

On August 4, 1944, Prime Minister King stated that none of the Japanese in Canada, even the non-citizens, had been guilty of any offense against the security of Canada. But, he added, it would be desirable to try to determine the loyal and disloyal, and this latter group would be sent to Japan after the war. Mr. King's statement was an obvious compromise to the extreme demands voiced by the anti-Japanese agitators and the groups such as the CCF Party and the church bodies who wished to see justice and fair play prevail even in the emotional climate of wartime.

In B.C., the 1944 federal election campaign was organized partly around this issue. Led by John Bracken and Howard Green, the Progressive Conservatives demanded complete expulsion of the Japanese from the province, whereas the CCF campaigned for rights of citizenship, and dispersal. Veteran Affairs Minister Ian Mackenzie headed the demand of the B.C. members of the Liberal Party for complete expulsion. He declared that he would forfeit his political life if the Japanese were allowed to remain in B.C.: "If the Japs are in, I'm out". Also, anti-Japanese groups such as the Richmond Japanese Repatriation League, made up of representatives of fishing and farming industries, took an active part in the campaign for repatriation. Another group, the Union of B.C. Municipalities, composed of representatives of every municipality in the province, resolved that every person of Japanese ancestry should be sent to Japan.

In early Spring of 1945, notices were posted in all interior settlements regarding "application for voluntary repatriation to Japan". Those who wished to remain in Canada were to re-establish themselves east of the Rockies as "best evidence of their intentions to co-operate with the government policy of dispersal. Failure to accept employment east of the Rockies was to be regarded as lack of co-operation with the government".. A short time later, members of the RCMP visited every interior centre. All persons over 16 were asked to appear individually before the officers and state their intention. These first steps were met with what amounted to jubilation by certain groups. Among these were the Federated Growers of B.C. and the Indian organization, the Native Brotherhood of B.C., who now felt that the Japanese could no longer threaten their new-found security in the farming and fishing industries.

Decision for most of the evacuees had little relation to any question of "loyalty" or "disloyalty" to Canada. Rather, it was based largely on personal circumstances and psychological factors fermented by their wartime treatment. There was evident a disbelief in the government and its policy, inspired and developed by experience since the evacuation. And there was the unhappy feeling that no matter where one may go in Canada, pronounced anti-Japanese feeling would manifest itself. Decisions of relatives and friends, family heads and family circumstances were determining factors in many cases. The majority of those who signed for repatriation signed because they were not prepared to accept the alternative of being forced to move east at the earliest possible date. They signed not because they wanted to go back to war-ravaged Japan but because even that seemed less repugnant than the prospect of trying to re-establish themselves in Canada in the face of existing restrictions, discriminations, and hostility. Repatriation meant at least relief from unnecessary anxiety. In effect, then, the Japanese were given the alternatives of deportation to a land the majority of them had never seen, or settlement in a strange and hostile neighborhood, on pain of being judged disloyal.

During the war, few Occidentals were concerned about the citizenship rights of the Japanese Canadians; indeed, as the Japanese attempted to resettle in the eastern provinces, there were few sustained protests against the restrictions that hampered them. The Japanese were largely left to themselves. After V-J Day, September 2, 1945, however, the tide turned, and protests were made in all parts of Canada against the repatriation program which was still in process. The program came to be defined as a threat to civil liberties and rights of citizenship.

Some 6,000 forms had been signed by those who signified their intention of going to Japan, involving 10,347 persons, the majority of whom were Canadian citizens. In September, 1945, it was announced that plans were under way to transport the first of the 10,000 people to Japan. At that time the government introduced Bill 15 which contained a clause giving the government power over "entry into Canada, exclusion and deportation and revocation of nationality". The purpose of the Bill was to provide the government with transitional powers so that some of its wartime authority could be continued after the war had been declared as legally ended; that is, to provide the government with the legal basis for completion of its program.

During October and November of 1945, the protest movement against this government action by the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy and Occidental groups gathered steam in the East. The rights of the Cabinet to issue an order-in-council for the cancellation of citizenship went too far for some Canadians who had awoken to the issues involved in the entire government policy. It was also put forth at the Japanese Canadian had a right to cancel his previous written declaration of intention of going to Japan. The government, after all, was seeking powers to revoke nationality and deport any citizen, loyal or disloyal, with or without consent, without right to appeal.

Of the total of 10,347 involved, 6,844 actually signed requests; the remainder were dependent children under 16 years of age. Those signing included 2,925 Japanese nationals, 1,451 naturalized Canadians, and 2,460 Canadian born. One-third of those facing deportation, therefore, were children born in Canada, and three-quarters of them were Canadian citizens. Prior to the surrender of Japan, some of them had sent in requests to Ottawa for cancellation, and after September 2, the requests had become more numerous. Minister of Labor Humphrey Mitchell announced on November 21 that the government would not permit cancellation of requests by Japanese nationals, but would permit cancellation of requests of the naturalized if made prior to September 2, and review the Canadian-born cases. In short, if one had applied for cancellation before September 2, he was regarded as "loyal" to Canada; if he had signed after September 2, he was "disloyal". The government was therefore preparing to deport a large number of people against their wishes.

As a result of continuing and vociferous opposition from interested portions of the Canadian public, however, the offending clause was omitted. But this, in effect, meant nothing as Prime Minister King simply tabled orders-in-council to do what the clause had intended to do; that is, the government had the power to enforce deportation and to revoke nationality. In the debates of December 17, reaction in the House was bitter. Angus MacInnis (CCF Vancouver East) stated that the Japanese "were no more responsible for the military aggression of the Japanese Government than any other citizen of Canada", and despite "the way we treated them, despite the fact that we uprooted them from their homes, despite the fact that we denied them the rights enjoyed by every other citizen in the country, regardless of racial origin, not one disloyal act has been committed by any Canadian-born Japanese". He also pointed out that the treatment of the Japanese had "violated every democratic tradition and every Christian principle". MPs Thomas Reid and Howard Green, however, re-stated their anti-Japanese arguments, the latter even suggesting that the evacuees be re-settled in some area in the Pacific Ocean. Thus the future of the Japanese in Canada again became an acute political issue.

The three "repatriation" orders-in-council provided for the deportation of five different classes of people: Japanese nationals who signed requests for repatriation; naturalized persons who signed requests for repatriation and did not revoke them before September 2, 1945; Canadian-born citizens who did not revoke the request before the making of orders for deportation; wives and children under 16 of any to be deported; and Japanese nationals or naturalized persons recommended to be deported. Canadian nationality status was to be removed from these people.

Already in December, it was announced that the first 900 were to be sent to Japan on January, 1946. The Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians, which represented some 40 separate Occidental organizations concerned with safeguarding the rights of loyal persons of Japanese descent, directed its argument towards proving that the orders-in-council were "invalid, illegal, and beyond the powers of governor-in-council". It prepared for legal battle. The decision of the Supreme Court of Canada was not clear cut. A majority of the judges ruled that the orders-in-council

were partially valid simply because the government had the power to do practically anything under the War Measures Act -- and the government had rushed them through several months after the war was over, and only a few days before the Act expired. A majority also ruled it was illegal to deport the wives and children of the men being deported. Two of the judges further held that other parts of the scheme were invalid insofar as they applied to Canadian-born and naturalized citizens. This meant that the government could deport any person, but his wife and children would be left on the government's hands. And although the fight was carried to the last court of appeal, the Privy Council in London, this decision was sustained.

Yet, the sustained protest made the government decide upon an almost complete reversal of policy. On January 24, 1947, Prime Minister King announced that the orders-in-council providing for deportation had been repealed. Now, it meant that no one need go to Japan unless he wanted to, or if he was found guilty of disloyalty. Some 3,964 Japanese, however, voluntarily sailed to Japan; that is, only a little more than one-third of those who signed up actually went to Japan.

3. The Property Problem

One of the chief problems arising out of the enforced evacuation was that centering around the property of the evacuees. What was to happen to the boats, farms, machinery, tools, homes, furnishings, and personal possessions which they had to leave behind? That the government did not take adequate steps for the protection and preservation of property can be explained only in the light that the evacuation was a precipitate move, not one initiated on a broad plan nor as a permanent movement. The government provided no facilities for the protection of property while the evacuees remained in the "protected area", other than the formality of voluntary registration. The first instructions given the Custodian of Alien Property in March, 1942, were to assume management and control of property "as a protective measure only". That the removal had assumed permanent aspects came when the "protection only" was abandoned, and on June 29, 1942, with mass evacuation underway, powers of disposition by "sale, lease, or otherwise" of agricultural land was authorized, and again on January 19, 1943, such powers were extended to all Japanese properties. Thus all Japanese property, real or personal, was to be sold, although this property, stored with the Custodian, had been entrusted to him by the owners on the belief that he was to exercise protective control only.

Since the evacuees generally assumed that they would be permitted to return to their homes as soon as permitted, they resorted to makeshift arrangements for storing possessions. Some resorted to quick sales or to leaving their goods in community halls or churches. In many cases, only very brief notice to move was given, necessitating hasty action. Possessions could not be taken with them since restrictions were placed on baggage permitted for transport out of the "protected area".

Substantial losses were suffered. Theft and vandalism were common. The minimum amount of baggage, which the evacuees were allowed, consisted only of bare essentials for survival; the accumulated possessions of many years had to be left behind. Many articles were stolen from fishing boats while impounded; automobiles left at designated points were stripped of tools and even inner tubes and tires were replaced by those of poorer quality. Losses, then, included loss from income, loss due to sale price being lower than the appraised price, loss from items lost, stolen, or destroyed. Indeed, the list grew long.

First, fishing boats were disposed of without consent of the owners. Then the Director of Soldier Settlement took over 769 Japanese farms for the purpose of securing good, proved farm lands at a bargain price. This was done at a cost of about \$893,390 in the face of assessment values totalling \$1,250,000. Yasutaro Yamaga of Haney who had been appointed in April, 1943, to the Advisory Committee on Rural Japanese Property, resigned in protest over this action. And as he later inspected the farms in the lower Fraser Valley, it seemed to him that a million-dollar industry, the result of 35 years of slow work, was a thing of the past because of the neglect in the interim. Farm land sales did not proceed with a view to getting the owners a fair price. Sales of this type were unprecedented; there was no

recourse to arbitration, nor any appeal to the courts as provided under the War Measures Act in case of expropriation by the Crown. Thus these sales gave opportunity for economic profiteering: it meant newly created business opportunities and unexpected possession of properties and chattels for many. Chattels such as radios and merchandise were auctioned, and under conditions of forced liquidation, the sales resulted in low-bidding and low prices. Boats and gear, real property, businesses and equipment, all suffered a similar fate.

Since the Japanese had gradually and painfully built up their material resources in the years before the evacuation, the liquidation of their assets proved to be a central problem. It was natural that they would protest. Numerous letters were sent to the Custodian in Vancouver, and to departments of government in Ottawa, but these were ineffective. In April, 1943, the Japanese Property Owners Association started to organize, received subscriptions from about 600 people in order to bring three suits against the government, one each for a Japanese national, a naturalized citizen, and a native born citizen. Most felt that they had no chance of a fair hearing, but thought that at least one legal test should be made. Petitions of Right were filed with the Exchequer Court in October, 1943; and the case was scheduled to be heard on May 29, 1944. But it was not until September, 1947, that a decision was made public by Justice J.T. Thorson. He simply announced that the cases were dismissed.

While waiting for this decision, the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy after securing 200 claims from former evacuees in the Toronto area, announced on January 24, 1947, that evidence indicated about 75 per cent losses. Properties estimated to be worth \$1,400,395.66 had been sold for \$351,334.86. Thus losses incurred totalled \$1,031,732.89. About this time, it was evident that the government had no intention of investigating the whole question of property claims; it refused to recognize that any wide scale injustice had been done, and was prepared to make only minor adjustments. But the newly formed National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association and the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians pressed for more action. Finally, a claims commission was set up by the government. Some 1,300 claims amounting to over four million dollars were drawn up for the government to review.

But it was not until the Spring of 1950 that Justice Henry Bird of the Property Commission completed the hearings. The Commissioner found that the amounts paid to the Japanese for their land and chattels were substantially less than the fair market price. He recommended payment of an additional \$1,222,929. The greatest undervaluation of real estate had occurred in the Fraser Valley farm; and former owners received additional payments averaging 80 per cent of the original price. In other areas, the additional payments did not rectify the losses incurred. The highest payment was \$69,950. to a central Vancouver Island Lumbering Corporation, and the lowest was \$2.50 for a motor vehicle claim. Although the payments were considered "rough justice", they were, on the whole, inadequate in view of all the factors involved.

IV RETURN AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT

As repatriation ships left Vancouver bound for Japan, and eastward resettlement gained momentum, the ghost towns in interior B.C. began to depopulate rapidly during 1946. Once again they resumed the deserted air they had four years before when the first evacuees stepped bewilderedly on the dusty streets. The Department of Labor set November 15, 1946, as the deadline for closure of the housing projects in the Slocan area and Lemon Creek. Other centres -- Sandon, Greenwood, Kaslo, Tashme and Roseberry - had already been closed. A sad chapter in the story of the Japanese Canadians was drawing to a finish as 1946 waned.

The end of the war did not mean that Japanese Canadians could return to the coastal area from whence they had come, nor did it mean that prejudice was disappearing. Indeed, officials of the Department of Labor, the office of the Custodian, and the RCMP expressed fear that a large movement of Japanese back to their former homeland might stir up the whole anti-Japanese feeling anew. The Vancouver Sun in December, 1946, said, "If they are to live in peace in Canada they must not revive any idea of re-establishment of a Pacific Coast colony . . . We must have ample assurances from the government that Powell Street and Steveston are to remain white". And in February, 1947, the annual convention of the Army, Navy and Airforce Veterans of Canada urged extension of government controls over the movement of Canada's Japanese for ten more years. It said, "The return of this centrally-controlled dual citizenship foreign flock would operate as an insidious menace to all citizens in this area, particularly to our war veterans now seeking re-establishment in farming, fruit-growing, fishing and small business". Prejudice was dying hard.

On the other hand, the situation led Professor H.F. Angus of U.B.C. to say that the government's exclusion of the Japanese from the coast was "an abuse of constitutional powers. The Japanese have been accused of no crime by any responsible authority, nor have they been wrong-doers like deserters, or reluctant citizens like those who evaded conscription ... The defense zone is in fact being used to force them to settle down in other parts of Canada -- an operation more like the house-breaking of so many dogs".

But the time did not appear ripe for the return of the Japanese. As Jack Scott, Vancouver Sun columnist, said in January, 1947, "Even today the writer who defends the rights of those citizens of Japanese extraction can count on a flood of vitriolic, hysterical mail".

Yet, in general, it appeared that the end of B.C.'s Japanese "problem" was in sight. Left in B.C. were about 6,750 mostly scattered in the interior. There were about 700 persons, mostly aged persons and invalid, at New Denver and most of the remainder had been continuously self-supporting since evacuation in 1942. The mass exodus east of B.C. and repatriation had taken the others. The great majority of those who moved east were relatively well established and were spreading out into an unprecedented variety of jobs, businesses and professions.

In April, 1947, the B.C. Legislature passed a new elections bill giving the vote to Canadians of Chinese and East Indian descent, but still barred Japanese Canadians. Thus B.C. still remained the only province where such a disqualification remained in effect. Harold Winch, CCF leader of the opposition, attacked the bill in his demand that all race discrimination in the law be removed. "The bill shows", he said, "this government agrees with the Fascist idea of making people second class citizens because of their racial origin". The denial of the vote -- an important political disability -- meant that discrimination in economic activities would still be permitted and encouraged. But because the Japanese in B.C. were no longer grouped as competitive economic blocs inviting the attacks of Occidental competitors, the way to the franchise seemed more hopeful.

Labor Minister Mitchell announced on April 23, 1947, that restrictions on travel inside B.C. would still remain. Thus no persons of Japanese descent could enter the coastal area, including World War I and II Veterans, unless they had special permits from the RCMP. All restrictions on movement of Japanese living east of the Rockies, however, were lifted. Two Japanese Canadian veterans, Buck Suzuki and Kingo Matsumoto, at this time were refused licenses to fish in B.C. waters. The reason? The Department of Fisheries stated that an emergency wartime order restraining the issues of licenses was still in effect.

In its Christmas Issue of 1947, however, The New Canadian reported, "Situation Almost Normal -- Six Years After Evacuation". Indeed, at that time, the compulsory deportation threat had been removed, and the evacuation property loss indemnification plan was an indication that the government intended to repay a part of the wartime losses. And a certain sense of security and achievement was created when delegates from B.C. to Quebec gathered at Toronto and organized the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association to fight through organized effort for equal citizenship rights. The National body was to co-operate with its chapter in B.C. in the fight for enfranchisement and meeting employment problems in the province.

And there were lingering problems. Only a few weeks later, on January 27, 1948, it was announced that 800 Japanese loggers and sawmill workers of interior B.C. were to be placed in unemployment with the lapse of federal wartime regulations permitting the employment of Japanese on crown timber lands. Thus a 35-year-old law was to come back in effect; and a "war of attrition", as the Vancouver branch of the Canadian Civil Liberties Union phrased it, was still being continued, striking at the principal means of support of the Japanese still in B.C. But a storm of protest forced the provincial government to suspend its order, revealing somewhat dramatically the change in B.C.'s public opinion toward the Japanese. The B.C. Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, too, had swung into action, and after gaining support from timber operators, lumber mill owners, Occidental organizations and individuals, representatives met with members of the provincial cabinet, obtaining from this body an assurance that the B.C. Crown Timber Act employment disability would be temporarily suspended.

CORRECTION: Page 36, 4th paragraph.

Delete from 4th paragraph, 8th line from the word, "But a storm of . . . etc.

Insert in its place the following paragraph:

The B.C. Japanese Canadian Citizens Association immediately swung into action. All the local JCCA throughout B.C. were asked to contact the timber operators, lumber mill owners, union officials, Occidental organizations and individuals to gain support. The three representatives were sent to Vancouver to gain support in lower main land. Through support of three major newspapers and radio stations as well and all religious groups and Civil Liberties Union the public was informed of the situation. The result; a storm of protest forced the Provincial Government to suspend its order; revealing somewhat dramatically the change in public opinion toward the Japanese. Finally the representatives met with members of the Provincial Cabinet, obtaining from this body an assurance that the British Columbia Timber Act employment disability would be temporarily suspended until the next legislature and also assures that this law including the mining law would be rescinded permanently and at the same time the enfranchisement of the Japanese Canadian was promised.

This suspension was an extraordinary achievement. Before the war the thought of allowing Japanese to work in Crown forests had been intolerable and politically impossible. Thus more progress in solving the problem of race and color was being made during the last few years since the removal from the coast than in the previous half century.

Revocation of all special wartime restrictions still affecting Japanese in B.C. was urged in a brief submitted on March 8, 1948, to Prime Minister King and members of the cabinet by the National JCCA. But the government revealed four days later that federal restrictions which prohibited Japanese from moving freely into the Pacific Coast areas, or going into the fishing industry, would be continued until April 1st, 1949. In April, 1948, two Nisei representatives were busy in Victoria in an attempt to secure action that would lift the ban on Japanese employment on crown timber lands, and to extend the vote to Japanese Canadians. They were George Tanaka, executive secretary of the National JCCA, and Hideo Onotera, president of the B.C. chapter. During his tour of Western Canada, Tanaka reported that the Japanese found themselves happier and better off economically in other provinces in Canada than they were in B.C. "Those who do return to B.C. probably will be very disappointed", he said. This seems to have been the general opinion.

In June, 1948, there was good news, for the House of Commons passed Bill 198 which enfranchised Canadian citizens of Japanese race living anywhere in Canada after March 31, 1949, without any outcries of protest from the B.C. members. But behind this somewhat easy winning of the federal franchise lay many years of heart-breaking toil and campaigning, stretching back 20 years or more. The removal of the franchise bar in the B.C. Elections Act loomed within reach.

The welfare and status of the Japanese in B.C. were improving steadily since the dark winter of 1945-6 when deportation had threatened. However, among the over 14,000 former evacuees now in the east, there seemed little likelihood that any great number would return even when restrictions were lifted. A new world of opportunity had opened to the Nisei in Eastern Canada, far different from the cramped life they had led in B.C. That the tide was swinging away from the fevered anti-Japanese agitation in the coastal area was exemplified when the Vancouver City Council moved to extend the vote to Orientals on January 17, 1949. The motion was passed by unanimous vote despite the fact that onetime foes of the Japanese such as the former Mayor J.D. Cornett and veteran Alderman H.D. Wilson were members of the council. The voices that were still being raised against the lifting of the coastal exclusion were those of people who feared direct competition from the Japanese. Said the Native Brotherhood (Indian) Organization in February, 1949, "We flatly do not want the Japs back in our coastal region". In the Fraser Valley, too, the Maple Ridge Board of Trade reflected the alarm of local farmers who feared the thought of Japanese coming back to the berry-growing industry.

Finally, on March 7, 1949, B.C.'s Japanese Canadians won the franchise as the legislature introduced an amendment to the Provincial Elections Act. This was without doubt one of the most important milestones in the Japanese Canadians' quest for equal citizenship rights. The stigmata of disenfranchisement was at an end. And with it, the "de facto" color bar which automatically shut them out of the more desirable occupations. A whole list of political and economic discriminations was washed away. It was a historic occasion.

Then seven years after the federal government in a series of orders-in-council imposed drastic restrictions on its West Coast Japanese, and almost four years after the end of the war, these restrictions were allowed to lapse on April 1, 1949. The Japanese could now return to the Coast. It was another day of sweetness and light. But it was a long time coming.

There was only a trickle of Japanese moving back to the Coast, however, and these were a few fishermen and gardeners returning from the interior. When the fishermen did settle back in Steveston and other fishing towns, relations with others in the industry were in general fairly good, though the Skeena Indians still protested vehemently. And the Japanese who now returned to Vancouver experienced only a few instances of discrimination. Most of them were employed in the City's sawmills during that year. But even one year after restrictions were lifted, April 1, 1950, only a few hundred of the original 22,000 had returned to the coast, and by another year, 1951, less than 2,000 had returned.

Thus there was no heavy back-to-the-coast movement by the evacuees. The idea of returning to the Coast appealed to only certain people: most strongly to those in interior B.C. and in Alberta than those who had moved farther east. But even among these people the actual number of persons who decided to return never reached a sizeable figure as to create a second Japanese "problem". At any rate, returning to the Coast was not like "going home".

The 1951 census returns showed 7,169 Japanese in B.C., representing one-third of the total Japanese in Canada. This was a startling change from the census ten years ago when the Japanese in B.C. comprised 95.3 per cent of the total in Canada. The 1941 total of 23,149 Japanese in Canada had also decreased ten years later to 21,663. And Vancouver, once home of the largest Japanese community with over 8,000, now only had 873. Thus the effects of the dispersal and resettlement had been widespread.

By 1958, about 8,300 Japanese were estimated to be living in the province. Vancouver's population, still the largest, had grown to 2,500, followed by Steveston's 1,200, and the Okanagan district's 1,000. And it is unlikely that these figures will change greatly since the situation, seventeen years after the evacuation, has definitely regained normalcy. It is also noteworthy that many of the former evacuees who were moved to interior B.C. have settled there permanently. Where there had been only a scattering of Japanese in interior B.C. before the evacuation, this region has become the permanent home for a considerable number. Slocan

City, Greenwood, Kamloops, Revelstoke, Nakusp, Lillooet, Kelowna, Vernon, and so on, now can count Japanese Canadians among their residents.

Today, a 1958 survey shows that the lumbering industry attracts the most workers among the Japanese in the province. This is followed by farming, industrial plant work, railroads, gardening, fishing, manual labor, government and clerical work, engineers, teaching and other professions, retail and wholesale businesses, small commercial enterprises. The public field is also open to them; not long after the lifting of restrictions, Dr. Masajiro Miyasaki of Lillooet was elected to a seat on the village council as commissioner. The Japanese are still rather proficient in strawberry growing: in 1952, Kaemon Shikaze of Dewdney was crowned as the Fraser Valley's "Strawberry King". And there have been other achievements since the return and re-establishment. The Vancouver Japanese Language School, first opened in 1905, was also reopened in September, 1952, with classes open to Occidentals. This time there was no attempt to re-introduce the old, almost compulsory, day school for primary students. And since there was a greater contact with the Orient, especially in relation to import-export business, leaders felt that a more general knowledge of the Japanese language would be beneficial. As an ironic comment on the changed times, one of the chief reasons for re-opening the school was to help enable Japanese Canadians to "bridge the gap between Japan and Canada".

CONCLUSION

Though the evacuation and its bitter aftermath now seem like a fading chapter in the history of the Japanese Canadians in B.C., to all of them old enough to remember it, it will always be a mental scar in their past. Ostensibly premised upon military necessity, it was committed without trial or any kind of hearing, and it remains as a blot on the province's history. True, the evacuation and the re-settlement brought new opportunities to most of the young people and largely dispelled the Japanese "problem" on the Coast, but the shock and economic loss to the older people cannot be measured. And it remains the most drastic invasion of civil rights which the war evoked, and the most drastic invasion of the rights of citizens of Canada by their own government that has thus far occurred in the history of Canada.

But for all its drastic character and its high cost in the impairment of human values, the evacuation was not without its benefits and compensations. In the years after the war, the Japanese Canadians in B.C. have regained their pre-war status and more, and have achieved a high degree of popular acceptance than had ever been accorded them since the first regular immigrants arrived at the province's coastal ports in the early 1880's. There is no doubt that it is the dispersal and resettlement, and the quiet and effective manner in which the Japanese Canadians have re-integrated and re-adjusted themselves into the wider Canadian community; and the hundreds of friends they have gained in the process, that have made for their easier acceptance.

Since the war, they have shown an increasing interest in activities and problems that they have in common with other racial groups and the broader community in the province. This is quite a different picture from the pre-war period when the bulk of them lived in self-contained settlements along the Coast. Now they are accepted, on the whole, as Canadians, sharing the rights and duties and a common destiny with others. It is with the lifting of restrictions, the decrease of extraordinary economic and political pressures that the Japanese Canadians have shown more interest in the development of normal social and economic interaction. And the elimination of the stigma of second class citizenship did much to bolster the self-confidence and well-being of the Japanese Canadians.

Today the life that was symbolized by Vancouver's Powell Street is now over. The concentration which was due to normal social impulse and to the entrenched antagonism of Canadian society itself is a thing of the past. The Powell Street of yore is the memory of another age, coming back in troubled moments or in snatches of sentiment.

Today is the present day Vancouver community, there is no real centre of geographic concentration, and unlike the pre-war period there is no closely integrated hierarchy of institutions and associations. And while it is generally thought that the economic level of the local Japanese Canadians compares unfavorably with that of their counterparts in the eastern provinces,

the economic picture is much brighter. For instance, with the lifting of the enfranchisement bar, there are now lawyers and pharmacists among the ranks of the Japanese Canadian professionals.

Though probably in lesser degree than the former evacuees who had relocated eastwards, the Japanese Canadians in B.C. have also experienced the break-up of the rigid authoritarian family control that was exercised prior to the war. There is a far greater independence among the Nisei; it is they who now make the major decisions while the Issei, though they have recovered from the traumatic effects of the evacuation, remain in the background. Thus the second generation have definitely come of age; and to the growing Sansei (the third generation), the dark events of the past will only be a thing of wonderment to them.

And with the rising interest in the Orient and its culture among Occidentals, Nisei no longer need fear to eschew the exotic; rather, in a curious swing of time's pendulum, many of the Nisei now go out of their way to attain knowledge about the culture of Japan because they feel they can make a valuable contribution to the Canadian "melting-pot".

Finally, the Japanese Canadians have come to realize a new sense of the vastness and diversity of the province as well as the nation. No doubt they have become the most widely travelled group in Canada. Like other residents, and perhaps more, because it was brought home to them that they were unwanted, the Japanese Canadians have deeply felt the peculiar qualities that belong to British Columbia alone. They have tramped through the deep silence of the woods, looked across Burrard Inlet from Prospect Point at the city of lights on the North Shore, heard the fierce, proud silence of the mountains, felt the icy cold winters of the interior, tasted the sweetness of the Okanagan mackintoshes. In short, they have felt the spirit of place. The Japanese Canadians who remained in the province, or have returned to it, still feel it; it is within and without them.

To the others elsewhere in Canada who might visit their birthplace, returning to B.C. is a dispelling of a promise of a nostalgia-dripping sentimental journey. It is the hollow laughter of the ghosts of time; the umbilical cord of association has been severed. Yet the vast amphitheatre of Vancouver harbour sweeps around the city with its unchallengeable mystery and allure of sea-going ships, weaving around itself the chiaroscuro of romance. And the Pacific whispers in the distance, a sound like in a shell, so strange to a land-locked easterner. It is a beauty that flatters and soothes the bruised spirit. It is the shape of lost years, the unforgotten days, the hours of birth and destruction and re-birth. Time is both a destroyer and a preserver.

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A BRIEF

submitted

to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

by

THE NATIONAL JAPANESE CANADIAN CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

MARCH 1965

E. R. IDE, PRESIDENT

M. Sumiya, Chairman
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

415 Spadina Avenue
Toronto 2-B, Ontario

SUMMARY OF THE BRIEF
ITS CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND VIEWS

- (A) Canadianism, one and indivisible, must be emphasized. All Canadians, irrespective of their origin, should share equally in shaping the future prosperity of Canada.
- (B) Canada, a nation of mature citizens, must and can remain united.
- (C) The B.N.A. Act must be amended to meet the current requirements of all Canadian citizens.
- (D) Learning opportunities of the two "official" languages be broadened, and those of other ethnic languages be facilitated.
- (E) Cultures stemming from creeds other than those of Judaeo-Christian origin must be recognized and safeguarded.
- (F) Encourage greater participation by Canadians in Canadian projects.

INTRODUCTION

The National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association is an association arising out of the sufferings and deprivations experienced by Canadians of Japanese ancestry before, during and after World War II. It became a reality in 1947

Some of its aims and objects are:

1. ".....to strive for equal civil rights and liberties for all Canadians....."
2. ".....to render the maximum contribution by Canadians of Japanese ancestry to the aggregate pattern and mosaic of Canadian modes of living....."
3. ".....to strive for and protect in conjunctive co-operation with other like-minded groups the civil rights....."
4. ".....to promote and encourage among Canadians of Japanese ancestry cultural, educational.....activities conducive to better Canadian citizenship.

With respect to information on the background of Canadians of Japanese ancestry, we are attaching Appendix "A", a History of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia.

1. General Comments

1.1 Although the terms of reference of the "Commission" may have been adequate at the time of Confederation, in the latter half of the Twentieth Century it is entirely inadequate to fulfil the requirements of this dynamic nation.

1.2 Canada, as a nation, is a nation of immigrants and encompasses more than the "two founding races".

1.3 We believe that all Canadians, irrespective of their origins, should share equally in shaping the future prosperity of this nation.

1.4 We further believe that the emphasis should be placed, not on the multi-national or racial origin, not on the hyphenated Canadian, but on "Canadianism"--one and indivisible.

The need for Canadianism is emphasized by the bitter experience of Japanese Canadians during the war years. With the outbreak of war in the Pacific, Japanese Canadians were ordered to evacuate the coastal region. Their properties were consigned to custodial care. This segment of Canadian citizenry were forcibly moved, under escort, to ghost-towns or concentration camps. We believe that hyphenated Canadianism contributed to this injustice.

2. Pertaining to National Unity

2.1 We firmly believe that Confederation is an irrevocable agreement between the provinces and the Federal Government. It may be amended but not dissolved.

2.2 We further believe that the issues which divide us are not as great as the bonds which bind us, and that the people of Canada are sufficiently mature to be able to resolve their differences in an amicable manner.

2.3 We take faith from the two centuries which preceded us: two centuries of proof that Canada as a nation can prevail over difficulties and differences without the ordeal of fire. The current issues are no more insurmountable than

those of the past; today's will is no less resolute than that of yesterday.

2.4 We respect the rights of individuals and groups to retain their identities if they so choose, and are in sympathy with the aspirations of French Canada. We contend that circumstances have not presented equal opportunity to French Canada, and that the unity of the nation depends on the equitable share of its prosperity.

3. Pertaining to the Constitution

3.1 As noted in "General Comments", we believe that the Constitution (B.N.A. Act) must be amended to meet the current character of the nation. We strongly urge the Commission to recommend in its report that this amendment be through the consensus, not of the "two founding races" but of all the citizens of Canada, in keeping with our time and our national character.

3.2 We urge, also, that any recommendation from the Commission include the incorporating of the basic human rights and the safeguards thereof in the amendment.

It has been our unfortunate experience that inequities, past and present, indicate an urgent need for some form of safeguard for our basic human and civil rights. Some of these experiences are:

The Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were denied the right to vote in the Province of British Columbia until the early 1950s.

The Buddhist religion (whose adherents are predominantly Canadians of Japanese ancestry) is denied recognition and practice in the Province of Quebec.

The statement in the "press" attributed to a former Prime Minister to the effect that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during the war was just since blood is thicker than water--a statement supposedly made in the early 1960s.

We believe these safeguards should be made binding upon both provinces and the Federal Government.

4. Pertaining to Languages

4.1 First and foremost, we recognize the multi-national and multi-lingual origin of this nation.

4.2 We also take cognizance of the bilingual nature of our federal structure.

4.3 We recommend, therefore, that both languages (English and French) be taught in the schools from the first grade--the predominant language of the province being the principal language, with the other as second. We believe that a firm knowledge of both languages will be a definite asset to the nation.

4.4 We recommend further that the study of other ethnic languages be encouraged whenever and wherever possible. We urge that every facility be made available to them. We stand convinced that, in this era of telescoped distance, the knowledge of languages and hence the ability to communicate adequately with other member nations of the world would enhance our image. The knowledge of ethnic language by these ethnic groups is a boon which we cannot and must not squander.

4.5 We suggest that mass communication media can make substantial contributions in this area.

5. Pertaining to Culture

5.1 We suggest that since the Western European cultures, which constitute the majority, are of Judaeo-Christian origin, whatever differences which may exist cannot be greater than their common heritage. We confide these differences can be resolved in mutual trust and respect.

5.2 We acknowledge, however, that there are groups in Canada whose cultural backgrounds stem from bases other than those of Judaeo-Christian origin. In keeping with the terms of reference of the Commission, "taking into account the

contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution", and bearing in mind that these contributions are not at variance with the Canadian way of life (e.g., oriental flower arrangement, brush-art, Eskimo and Indian folklore, etc.), we urge the Commission to make recommendations to safeguard throughout the nation these cultures and creeds from whence they stem.

Much of the oriental culture which finds expression in art and related fields have been widely accepted and acclaimed in Canada. Such areas as Japanese flower arrangement, brush-art, etc., have found their places in many Canadian homes. The area of martial arts (Kendo, Karate, Judo, etc., the last of which finds a Silver Medalist in the 1964 Olympics) have many participants actively engaged in it daily. In the field of architecture, both structural and landscaping, its influence has been felt. Even in furnishings, "Shibui" has been acclaimed by many outstanding designers. These contributions find their root, in most instances, in Buddhism and its many creeds. It is a contribution well worth preserving.

6. Pertaining to the Economic Aspects

6.1 We do not feel competent to make recommendations on the vague intricacies of the economic basis of our national life. We do wish, however, to express our views on some of its aspects.

6.2 Canadians are overshadowed by a benevolent but powerful neighbour whose economic endowment is considerable. Our prospect of retaining a semblance of economic autonomy depends partially on our ability to provide a united front as well as our greater participation in Canadian projects.

6.3 We encourage French Canada to a greater part in this participation.

6.4 We believe any and all advantages gained by Canadians will be a gain to Canada as a nation.

Postscript:

Although views may vary from locale to locale, these are the views of the National Headquarters, bearing in mind those of our contacts throughout the nation.

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Submission

by the

National Farmers Union
(Head Office: Saskatoon, Sask.)

to the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

November 3, 1964

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Submission

by the

National Farmers Union
(Head Office: Saskatoon, Sask.)

to the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

November 3, 1964

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

(1) Canada has never been a bilingual nor bicultural nation.

We have been a nation of many languages and cultures, each having its roots in the ethnic, regional, economic and community differences which have prevailed in the country.

(2) The linguistic and cultural differences which have divided the Canadian nation in the past are slowly being eroded by the processes of urbanization and industrialization. For example, agricultural production in Canada has been traditionally organized around a family. Vertical integration by food processing, packing and retail chains, the advent of factory farms, the speculation and investment in land by non-farmers, the increased mechanization of production, the decline of rural communities and the concentration of rural populations in larger trading centres -- all these factors are contributing to a revolution in agricultural production and the style of life of agricultural producers. Unless drastic measures are undertaken, the family farmer will become a datum of history. The differences traditionally associated with rural life, and farming as an occupation are gradually being eroded.

The present ferment in French Canada is, we believe, a response to essentially the same problem which faces farmers and other groups in our society. Quebec is rapidly becoming industrialized and urbanized. Some if not all French Canadians have come to realize that urbanization and industrialization results in homogeneity. French Canadians, like other Canadian groups, are losing their traditional identity, and are

becoming just like any other North American.

(3) If Canadians, as a whole, recognize that dramatic changes are taking place in our cultural, social and economic life, there is no consensus as to the merits or value of these changes. Moreover, there is no agreement as to the steps necessary to direct and control the changes which are taking place.

(4) We again submit that the fundamental problem facing Canadians from all walks of life is the changes taking place in our economy. Automation and cybernation promises to revolutionize our social, cultural and political life. The second industrial revolution recognizes no ethnic, cultural or political boundaries.

(5) It remains the task of every Canadian to seek, cultivate and nourish a new culture -- one which is national in scope, and which is worthy of support by all Canadians.

(6) Such a culture should include at least the following ingredients:

- (a) The direction of economic activity towards human needs.
- (b) Equal opportunity to education.
- (c) A guaranteed standard of living in keeping with the dignity of the individual.
- (d) The encouragement of cultural diversity and cultural consciousness among Canadians.
- (e) The provision of facilities and opportunities for the advancement and stimulation of the arts on a national basis.
- (f) The vigorous expansion of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as an instrument of national cultural policy.

(7) The Commission should be aware of the fact that our membership have in no way stated a policy on any of the following questions:

- (a) A bilingual civil service.
- (b) Compulsory French and English in public schools.
- (c) A constitutional monarchy.
- (d) Bilingualism in the military services.

We submit that the lack of policy on these questions is somewhat indicative of the importance attached to them by our membership.

(8) We have come to believe that events in Quebec should not and cannot be taken lightly by other Canadians. There is reason to believe that the French Canadians may well be able to provide the leadership and set an example for the rest of the country. They are attempting to accomplish great things in the province of Quebec. We express the hope that they will come to share their enthusiasms, imagination and hope with other Canadians.

* * * * *

INTRODUCTION

1. The National Farmers Union welcomes this opportunity of placing its views on biculturalism and bilingualism before the Commission. The National Farmers Union is made up of five provincial farm unions-- the Farmers' Union of British Columbia, Farmers' Union of Alberta, Saskatchewan Farmers Union, Manitoba Farmers Union, and Ontario Farmers Union-- representing a membership of 65,000 Canadian farm families.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

2. The terms of reference of the Royal Commission require the Commissioners. . .

" . . . to inquire into and report upon the
existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism
in Canada . . . "

We respectfully submit that the terms of reference are open to question. They rest upon a false assumption, namely, that Canada is a bilingual and bicultural nation. Officially, this may be the case. However, we hasten to point out that legal statutes and "official understandings" do not necessarily correspond to reality.

3. Canada has been a nation of many languages, whether they are officially recognized or not. To say we are a multi-lingual nation is to concede that many Canadians are at home in languages other than French and/or English; that is to say, they tend to think, and when possible, converse and communicate in different languages. By way of example, farmers in Canada can be classified into a variety of linguistic groups:

- (a) English
- (b) French
- (c) Italian
- (d) German
- (e) Dutch
- (f) Russian
- (g) Ukrainian
- (h) Norwegian
- (i) Swedish
- (j) Danish
- (k) Hungarian and others

4. Canada has also been a nation of many cultures. Although differences between rural and urban life are gradually breaking down, there are still areas in Canada where rural life is fundamentally different from that found in urban areas. Cutting across rural-urban differences are regional differences. The economic and social life of the Maritimes is not identical with the economic realities and social life of the western plains. Moreover, within regions, and within urban areas, ethnic differences are still very much a part of the Canadian scene. Need we add that the style of life of the very rich is fundamentally different from the style of life found down on the farm?

5. We take exception, then, to the terms of reference of the Commission. Canada is neither bilingual nor bicultural. Whether Canada should be a bilingual and bicultural nation is a question of an entirely different nature. The point is, the terms of reference of the Commission do not reflect the realities of the Canadian situation.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMMISSION

6. Despite the limitation mentioned above, we are of the opinion that the Royal Commission is of great historical significance. In effect, it is providing Canadians from all walks of life with an opportunity

for self-analysis. It is raising questions about ourselves and about our future which otherwise might have passed unnoticed. Equally important, the members of the Commission have approached their task in refreshingly new and imaginative ways. The opportunity for national self-analysis, and the manner in which this opportunity is made available, deserve special mention and support.

THE PROBLEM

7. The problem facing Canadians, as we see it, can be stated simply: What kind of a nation do we want to build and maintain?

8. Canadians have not been able to agree on an answer to this question. For example, Canadian farmers no longer agree on the kind of agriculture they wish to see developed. Some farmers and farm organizations feel that not only is corporate and integrated production inevitable, but that it is also desirable. Others, such as ourselves, feel that production should remain in the hands of the farm family and policies should be developed to further this goal. The point is, Canadian agricultural producers are far from united in the kind of agriculture they wish to build and maintain in this country.

9. Consider a second example-- the case of Quebec. Our investigations lead us to believe that French Canadians residing in the province of Quebec are far from unanimous in the kind of society they wish to build and maintain. 1/

1/ Officials and staff of the NFU made a number of trips to Quebec in an attempt to gain a better understanding of what was taking place in that province. We conducted a series of interviews with groups and individuals representing a cross-section of Quebec life, including officials of l'Union Catholique des Cultivateurs, le Groupe de Recherche Sociale, representatives of the student body of the University of Montreal, journalists and individuals close to the business community in Montreal.

We were led to believe that the question of the cost-price squeeze and the future of the family farm was of more concern to Quebec farmers than the question of separation.

10. Moreover, the separatists were far from unanimous in their goals and ambitions. We were led to believe that there were at least two rival factions within the separatist movement: one being conservative and the other being socialist. Equally important, not all those of conservative views and tastes favored separation any more than those of progressive views and tastes.

11. Canadians, then, do not know what kind of society they want to build and maintain. We are a divided nation -- not divided in two, but divided into many groups and factions. We are in the process of rejecting some of the myths and shibboleths of the past, but we have been unable to come up with acceptable alternatives for the future.

12. We have reason to believe that the gravity of the divisions within Canada is heightened by developments within the Canadian and North American economies. Studies by economists and sociologists suggest we are on the verge of a second industrial revolution, often referred to as automation and cybernation.^{1/} If the industrial revolution of the 19th century replaced human skills and craftsmanship with machines, the revolution associated with automation and cybernation promises to replace human beings, as well as their skills, in the productive process. It has been estimated that 85% of the total labor force may become permanently unemployed within the next twenty to twenty-five years. The economic and social consequences of these kinds of technological innovations will be no less than revolutionary in their scope. The present divisions which hamper the Canadian community

1/ See "The Triple Revolution", Liberation, (April 1964); R. Theobald, "Long Term Prospects and Problems", Technology and Culture III (Fall 1962); Gerard Piel, "Ideas of Technology", Technology and Culture Change III, (Fall 1962).

must be appreciated and measured in terms of present economic circumstances, as well as the uncertain days which lie ahead. In this context, one wonders if these divisions lose some of their importance and urgency. A dispossessed Canadian farmer or a permanently unemployed worker -- be he French, English, Ukrainian or German, will in all likelihood be less concerned with questions of biculturalism and bilingualism than with the question of where and how he is going to earn money to feed and clothe his family.

13. The question still remains: What kind of nation do we want to build and maintain? We submit Canadians have no answer to this question. If anything, the Royal Commission is slowly awakening Canadians to the fact that the question exists in its own right.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF QUEBEC

14. If Canadians cannot agree on the kind of nation they want to build and maintain we cannot conclude that as a nation we are satisfied with the status quo. We believe the social, economic and political unrest in the province of Quebec is a symptom of growing dissatisfaction-- dissatisfaction which reaches beyond the borders of that province. For the moment, then, let us examine Quebec in closer detail.

15. Although we believe the general views outlined in this submission are widely held and accepted by Canadian farmers, we have reason to believe that our membership is by no means unanimous in their attitudes towards French Canada. Gaps in awareness and knowledge can and do exist in organizations. The NFU is no exception. We propose to present separately, then, the views on Quebec of a sample of our membership. The following observations on the Quebec situation are shared by the leadership alone.^{1/}

^{1/} The distinction between leadership and membership views is valid for this discussion of Quebec only. We feel the distinction is worth making if this submission is going to be of any value to the Commission.

16. Since 1759, French Canada has continually expressed concern over the preservation of its cultural heritage and way of life. That culture and heritage has been essentially rural. The industrialization of Quebec in the 19th and 20th centuries took place largely through "foreign" capital, initiative and management. We believe there is much truth to the allegation that French Canadians have been denied a place in the sun in the growing industrial order in Quebec.

17. Put another way, the price of French Canadian participation in the control and management of the Quebec industrial economy has been "Anglicization". ^{1/} The French Canadian was required to take on the language, mannerisms, and habits peculiar to the English-speaking business world.

18. French Canadians provided the "muscle" in the growing industrialization of Quebec. The "muscle" came from the farms, and for the first generation at least, the French Canadian laborer was an uncomfortable stranger in a large, impersonal, urban environment.

19. As far as we can ascertain, the second and subsequent generations of French urban laborers did not develop a culture and way of life which was peculiarly French Canadian in nature. They became like any other industrial worker in Canada: exploited from time to time; caught up in the impersonal demands of a machine technology; and subject to all the pressures and subtleties of a mass, urbanized and Americanized society. Higher wages, better working conditions, and Ed Sullivan became as much a part of their world, as the world of any Canadian industrial worker.

^{1/} The same has generally held true for participation in the federal parliament and federal civil service.

20. We have reason to believe that the cultural unrest-- if we may distinguish it from economic unrest-- in Quebec, is largely urban. It is not so much an attempt to preserve a French Canadian culture as an effort to build a new one. The French Canadian heritage which is essentially rural, has proved inadequate in an urban, industrial setting. An "American" culture has proved unacceptable.

21. French Canadians, like most Canadians, are slowly beginning to realize that the old way of life has been undermined by the continuing industrial revolution. The old ways no longer meet the needs of the present, nor do they hold much promise for the future. The French Canadian is very much like the Canadian farmer: both have placed great value on a particular way of life; both have found that their ways of life are being undermined by economic and technological changes; both are desperately searching for an answer in the face of an uncertain future; both are finding that traditional solutions are no longer meaningful, nor useful.

22. These opinions, by and large, make up the "image" the leaders of the NFU have come to acquire in regard to Quebec. In contacts with our members, we are slowly trying to get this kind of a picture across. We are more than willing to stand corrected in our impressions. We trust the Royal Commission's Report will be useful in this regard. However, in contacts with our membership, we found that there was no consensus in regard to Quebec. We decided then to survey our membership.

ATTITUDES OF FARMERS TOWARDS QUEBEC

23. Lacking the financial and organizational resources, it was impossible to canvass the attitudes of our membership towards the Quebec situation. However, we were able to circulate a questionnaire among our country locals in the province of Saskatchewan. Of the 514

country locals canvassed, 35 replied.^{1/} We cannot claim that their responses to the questionnaire are typical of farmers in Saskatchewan or Canada. We feel, however, that they should give the members of the Commission an idea of what some of our membership is thinking.

24. The first question on the survey asked the local to state how their members felt "...about the Quebec problem in general." The answers are found in Table I.

Table I -- Attitudes of Saskatchewan Farmers
Towards Quebec

<u>Response</u>	<u>No. of Locals</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Sympathetic to Quebec problems	3	8.6
Not sympathetic to Quebec problems	12	34.3
No comment; Quebec problems local	11	31.4
Have not formed an opinion; don't know enough about the situation	7	20.0
No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>5.7</u>
Total	35	100.0

It is interesting to note that almost one third of the locals felt the Quebec problem was local in nature and that just over 50% of the locals either had no comment to make or felt they did not know enough about the situation. On the other hand, one third of the locals indicated they were not sympathetic to the Quebec problem.

25. The second question asked locals to state whether or not they were in favor of having French taught as a "...compulsory language in our schools." The replies are found in Table II. Forty per cent of the locals stated that they were opposed to compulsory French instruction in public schools. Roughly forty-three per cent felt that French instruction should be optional and two locals (5.7%) felt instruction should be compulsory.

^{1/} The total number of farmers participating in preparing answers for the questionnaire is estimated around 700.

Table II -- Attitudes of Saskatchewan Farmers Towards
Compulsory French in Public Schools

<u>Response</u>	<u>No. of Locals</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
In favor	2	5.7
Not in favor	14	40.0
French instruction should be optional	15	42.9
Not practical	4	11.4
Total	35	100.0

26. The third question asked locals to state their views on the "...proposed secession of Quebec from the rest of Canada." The responses are found in Table III.

Table III -- Attitude of Saskatchewan Farmers Towards
Separation of Quebec from Canada

<u>Response</u>	<u>No. of Locals</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
In favor	8	22.9
Opposed	9	25.7
Hope it can be avoided	18	51.4
Total	35	100.0

Almost 23% of the locals said they were in favor of secession and all their replies suggested hostility towards the question. For example:

"It is a laughable situation, proposed by a group of cry-babies, who are trying to frighten the rest of us. They would be much worse off than the rest of us if it came to pass."

"Let them go ahead. Suit themselves. Bad thing. They are the ones who will suffer."

"Fine. They need us worse than we need them."

"If that is what she wants, let her go. Put a wall around her and face her to the ocean."

One quarter of the locals were opposed to the secession of Quebec.

Of these nine locals, three indicated some sympathy towards the Quebec problem, while six indicated hostility in their replies.

For example:

"We do not want to have Quebec secede. It would not be in the best interest of Quebec or Canada."

"We would not like to have the Quebec people secede from the rest of Canada. More can be accomplished by working together in harmony by all provinces. Problems can and must be solved so that Canada can go forward as a strong and economic unit."

And. . .

"It should not be. The people of Quebec should be educated and taught to take their place in Canada under Confederation."

"We feel that had the French people been willing to learn only part of the cultures of several nationalities, they would have found it very beneficial to them. We feel the French should show some sign of good will on their part to learn English first. Most of our people had to do this as well as certain changes in our culture."

One half of the locals expressed the hope that separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada could be avoided through mutual understanding and co-operation.

27. Additional comments by locals, along with the responses reviewed above, lead us to believe that for many, if not all farmers, Quebec remains a distant imponderable. Some locals wanted to know "...what Quebec really wants..." Through conversations with our membership, we found an interest and curiosity in what is taking place in French Canada, but a lack of information about the issues.

A RE-STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

28. The NFU believes that it is not sufficient to define the cultural goals of our nation without recognizing the role the economy must play in implementing them. Our experiences in tilling the soil leads us to a belief that the cultural and political life of any nation is in large measure a reflection of the manner in which a people satisfy their material needs. The economic objectives of a nation determine in large measure the kind of political and social life the people enjoy or endure.

29. The objective of Canadian economic life is a profit for those who invest. The economy is neither competitive (in the Adam Smith sense) nor consumer-oriented.^{1/}

^{1/} In support of this statement we refer the Commissioners to the following: G. Rosenbluth, "Concentration and Monopoly in the Canadian Economy", Social Purpose for Canada, ed. M. Cliver, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); G. Rosenbluth & H. G. Thorburn, "Canadian Anti-combines Administration, 1952-60", Canadian Journal of Economics & Political Science XXVII, (Nov. 1961); Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads of Food Products, (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1959), Vol. I-III; Report of the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission on Canada Packers, (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962); D. W. Carr et al., "Truck-Rail Competition in Canada"; and Piggyback Transportation in Canada", Report of the Royal Commission on Transportation (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962), Vol. III.

Moreover, the economy is not essentially agricultural. It is industrial, and as economists have pointed out, agriculture in Canada has remained subservient to industrial needs and demands.^{1/}

30. The Canadian economy, which is part of the American, makes a number of demands on the nation which are worthy of mention. It requires a flexible and mobile labor force; it requires the investment of monies in industries and activities which are profitable; it requires the exploitation of natural resources, and only those natural resources which return a profit on investment; it requires government support and assistance through tariffs, subsidies, nationalized transportation and communication facilities; it requires the absence of government participation in those areas of social health and welfare where private investment can make a return; it requires an agriculture which will provide an abundance of low-priced food for the population and surplus labor for industry as required.

31. None of these requirements are in any way dependent upon a particular culture, be it French or otherwise. Is it any surprise, then, that Canada (one of the richest countries in the world) is culturally impoverished? None of these requirements are in any way dependent upon the existence and continuation of separate social and cultural identities -- such as the French Canadians. Is it any surprise, then, that Quebec is becoming Americanized, and some in that province don't like it? None of these requirements in any way requires an independent and free agricultural class. Is it any surprise, then, that Canadian farmers feel threatened and uncertain about the future?

32. The problem for Quebec is not English Canada; not because there is no such thing as English Canada, but because the problem for Quebec is the same problem which faces the entire nation. We have built and supported an economy which we, as people, no longer control

^{1/}See VFowke, The National Policy and the Wheat Economy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960).

nor direct. Moreover, the economy we have built and supported is in no way subservient to the variety of social and cultural goals held valuable by many groups. Indeed, changes in the economy are uprooting these goals and values, making them obsolete.

33. We submit that the problem facing the French Canadians is essentially the same problem which confronts Canadian farmers and other groups in our society who have a limited voice and control in the direction of our economic life: to develop goals and values which are meaningful in the face of changing economic circumstances.

All of which is respectfully submitted by

THE NATIONAL FARMERS UNION.

TITLE: "Submission...to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism"

AUTHOR: National Farmers Union
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Brief of 14 pages; 6 Recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This provocative brief compares the position of French Canada to the western "family farmer" whose position and status is being destroyed by economic change.

This brief considers that the key factor in the present problem is the economy which cannot be ignored in any attempt to answer the basic question "What kind of a nation do we want to build and maintain?" Quebec's problem is the same as that of Canada as a whole; we are living in an economy which we do not master and which is fast rendering traditional values obsolete. "Some if not all French-Canadians have come to realize that urbanization and industrialization results in homogeneity. French-Canadians like other Canadian groups, are losing their traditional identity, and are becoming just like any other North American." (sic)

The brief indicates a clear division between the views of the leadership of this organization (which feels it has gained an insight into Quebec's present problems) and the views of the members. This division precludes an official stand by the NFU on questions such as a bilingual civil service, compulsory French and English in public schools and constitutional changes.

Canada is not a bilingual and bicultural nation, rather it is multicultural and multilingual. "Whether Canada should be a bilingual and bicultural nation is a question of an entirely different nature. The point is, the terms of reference of the Commission do not reflect the realities of the Canadian situation."

ATT.: RESEARCH

- See the tabulation of the results of a questionnaire distributed to N.F.U. "country locals" on attitudes towards Quebec and linguistic problems. - pp. 9 - 12.

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SUMMARY:

"Introduction"

Page 3

The National Farmers Union consists of five provincial unions from the five most western provinces -- total membership of over 65,000 farm families.

"Terms of Reference"

Pages 3 - 4

The terms of reference may take into account political understandings, but they do not take into account political realities: Canada is a nation of many languages and many cultures. Moreover there still exist fundamental differences between rural and urban ways of life, as well as differences from region to region. The terms of reference re bilingualism and biculturalism express a wish not the reality.

"The Historical Significance of the Commission"

Pages 4 - 5

The opportunity for self-analysis by Canadians, together with the refreshing ways in which the Commission has set about its task, deserve support.

"The Problem"

Pages 5 - 7

The problem stated simply is "What kind of a nation do we want to build and maintain?"

Agricultural producers are by no means unanimous on the kind of agriculture they wish in this country; the people of Quebec, including separatists, are far from unanimous on their goals and ambitions.

Canada is divided, not in two, but into many groups and factions. Moreover studies indicate that North American economic life is on the verge of a second industrial revolution which will have far-reaching economic consequences. In such a context questions such as bilingualism and biculturalism lose some of their urgency.

"The Significance of Quebec"

Pages 7 - 9

Lack of unanimity as to the future is no indication of satisfaction with the status quo.

The membership of the NFU is not unanimous in its assessment of Quebec. Accordingly a distinction must be drawn between the views of the membership and views of the leadership.

Leadership: The industrialization of Quebec was carried out largely through "foreign" capital, initiative and management and French Canada provided the "muscle". "We believe there is much truth

to the allegation that French Canadians have been denied a place in the sun in the growing industrial order in Quebec" (Page 8)

The increasingly urbanized French-Canadian workers did not retain a peculiar way of life. Higher wages, better working conditions and Ed Sullivan became a part of their way of life. Present cultural unrest is largely urban and is more an attempt to build a new French Canadian culture than to preserve an old one unable to meet the present needs.

The leadership of the NFU is trying to get these impressions across to its members.

"Attitudes of Farmers toward Quebec"

Pages 9 - 12

Thirty-five of 514 "locals" in Saskatchewan replied to a questionnaire; the membership represented is estimated at 700. --The results appear in tables (Pages 10-11)

The first question asked how the members felt "about the Quebec problem in general". One third of the locals felt the problem was local in nature; one third indicated that they were not sympathetic and over 50% felt they did not know enough about the situation or had no comment.

The second question asked whether or not French was favoured as a "compulsory language in our schools". Forty percent of the locals stated that they were opposed to compulsory French; forty-three percent felt it should be optional and two locals (5.7%) felt it should be compulsory.

To the question asking for views on the "proposed secession of Quebec from the rest of Canada", 23% of the locals said they were in favour and expressed considerable hostility; 25% were opposed to secession; of these nine, three indicated some sympathy and six indicated hostility again. One half the locals expressed the hope that secession could be avoided through mutual understanding and co-operation.

"A Re-Statement of the Problem"

Pages 12 - 14

It is not sufficient to define our cultural goals without recognizing the role the economy must play in them. Our present economy, which is American, requires a flexible labour force, the investment of monies in profitable activities, profitable exploitation of our natural resources, government support and nationalized transportation and communication facilities. Moreover government must abstain in areas of

social health and welfare where investment can make a return. Agriculture must provide an abundance of low-priced food for the population and surplus labour for industry as required.

None of the foregoing elements is dependent upon a particular culture. We ought not to be surprised that Canada, one of the world's richest countries, is culturally impoverished.

The problem for Quebec is that of Canada; we have built an economy which we no longer control or direct.

We must develop goals and values which are meaningful in changing economic circumstances.

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SUBMISSION TO ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE NCCUC

Preamble

1. The National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (of which the Canadian Universities Foundation is the executive agency) is a non-governmental and voluntary association of 50 Canadian universities and colleges, organized for the purpose of serving the interests of higher education in Canada.

2. The objectives of the Conference are to foster and promote higher education in Canada through:

- (1) the study of current problems in higher education
- (2) the provision of services to the whole membership with special regard to making available:
 - (a) general informational data on Canadian universities
 - (b) information and assistance on academic award programmes
 - (c) information and assistance in international educational programmes
 - (d) a forum for the discussion of matters of common interest.

3. The pursuit of these objectives involves awareness and appreciation of both English-and French-language educational traditions and also of the problems each language group faces

ces fonds.

5. Que la Commission royale recommande la création

d'un nombre suffisant, selon son estimation, de bourses d'études et d'entretien pour des cours d'été ou d'hiver destinées

à ceux qui désirent se qualifier comme professeurs de français et d'anglais, afin d'augmenter rapidement le nombre de

professeurs compétents au Canada.

6. Qu'en vue de faire connaître à autant de jeunes

Canadiens que possible le développement actuel et possible du

pays tout entier, la Commission royale recommande l'institution

d'un vaste programme d'échanges et de voyages pour les jeunes

Canadiens, particulièrement les étudiants universitaires.

in fulfilling the aspirations of the total Canadian society.

4. Because of the variant traditions, the NCCUC has become increasingly aware of the implications of bilingualism in achieving genuine communication within the university community.

5. It is as a result of attempting to deal with the problems of higher education in bilingual terms that we have become aware of the fact that beneath language and cultural differences there is a very large area of common understanding and unity of purpose within the university community.

6. At the same time the universities and colleges of Canada are fully aware that fruitful partnership between English and French speaking Canadians requires, and will require, the persistent application of objective scholarship, as well as the efforts of men of goodwill.

7. We accept the emerging common understanding that if Canada is to develop as a unified society, a much higher degree of second language competence is going to be required from many Canadians, for the purposes of efficiency, in government, in national voluntary activity, and in business enterprise.

8. The attainment of a higher degree of bilinguality and of a fuller understanding of our cultural pluralism is, in our opinion, essentially an educational problem. If large scale voluntary educational programmes are to be undertaken in the interest of bilingualism, and cultural pluralism, they

Recommandations

Le comité exécutif de la CNUCC, après avoir consulté les institutions membres, désire soumettre à la Commission royale les recommandations suivantes:

1. Que la Commission royale étudie les rouages fédéraux et provinciaux actuels favorisant le développement du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada et qu'elle présente des recommandations propres à améliorer leur efficacité.

2. Que la Commission royale examine les services que rendent les organismes nationaux (entre autres, la Société Radio-Canada, l'Office national du film, le Conseil des Arts du Canada, le Conseil national de recherches, la Conférence nationale des universités et collèges canadiens, l'Association canadienne d'éducation, etc.) et qu'elle présente des recommandations tendant à améliorer ces services et à les faire correspondre davantage aux besoins du Canada.

3. Que la Commission royale étudie le problème des écoles, collèges et universités qui ont une tradition de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme dans les différentes provinces du Canada et qu'elle présente des recommandations tendant à améliorer l'efficacité de leur contribution au Canada tout entier en ce domaine.

4. Que la Commission royale estime en termes concrets quels fonds exigeraient les travaux de recherche sur les problèmes de la société canadienne, et qu'elle présente des recommandations sur la manière d'obtenir et d'administrer

cannot be brought about solely by provincial initiatives. Such efforts will require the co-operation of provincial and federal governments, with the convinced support of the Canadian public and voluntary agencies.

The Role of the Universities

It is an obvious duty of institutions of higher learning in any society to study the nature of the society of which they are a part.

It is equally their duty to teach the teachers of the language or languages of the society.

Canada is currently paying the penalty for its neglect of research in the fields of the humanities and social sciences especially as they bear upon the structure of the Canadian society.

The studies which the emerging Canadian society requires cannot be regarded as a specifically provincial responsibility. If Canadians want as a part of their pattern of life to encourage a much higher degree of bilinguality than exists at present, then they must be prepared to pay for it, as Canadians; and constitutional means should be found to do this.

Recommendations

The Executive Committee of the NCCUC, after consultation with the member institutions, wishes to propose the following recommendations to the Royal Commission for its consideration:

8. La croissance du bilinguisme et de la compréhension de la pluralité de nos cultures est essentiellement, selon nous, un problème d'éducation. Pour entreprendre des programmes éducatifs sur une grande échelle en faveur du bilinguisme et de la pluralité des cultures, la collaboration des gouvernements provinciaux et fédéral, ainsi que l'appui convaincu du public canadien et des organismes bénévoles sont indispensables.

Le rôle des universités

C'est le devoir manifeste des institutions de haut savoir d'étudier la nature de la société dont elles font partie. C'est aussi leur devoir de former les professeurs des langues qui s'y parlent.

Le Canada subit actuellement les conséquences de sa négligence à faire des recherches dans les domaines des humanités et des sciences sociales et particulièrement en ce qui a trait aux structures de la société canadienne.

Les études nécessaires au développement de la société canadienne ne peuvent être regardées comme une responsabilité exclusivement provinciale. Si les Canadiens désirent voir s'installer dans leur mode de vie une plus grande part de bilinguisme qu'actuellement, ils doivent alors accepter d'en payer le prix en tant que Canadiens. Il faudrait aussi, dans un tel cas, trouver des moyens constitutionnels pour y arriver.

1. That the Royal Commission review the existing federal and provincial machinery which is now serving the bilingual and bicultural development of Canada and make recommendations to improve its efficiency.

2. That the Royal Commission review the services which Canada-wide agencies (among others the C.B.C., N.F.B., Canada Council, N.R.C., the NCCUC, the Canadian Education Association, etc.) perform, and make recommendations both to improve these services and better relate them to the Canadian needs.

3. That the Royal Commission study the problem of schools, colleges and universities, in the different provinces of Canada, that are, by tradition, bilingual and bicultural, and that it present recommendations that would increase the effectiveness of their contribution to Canada as a whole in this matter.

4. That the Commission estimate in concrete terms the funds which will be necessary to support research in the problems of second language teaching and continuing study of the problems of Canadian society and make recommendations about how the necessary funds might be made available and administered.

5. That the Commission estimate and recommend an adequate number of summer and winter scholarships and bursaries to be made available to those who want to qualify as teachers

3. La poursuite de ces buts suppose la connaissance et l'appréciation des traditions éducatives françaises et anglaises tout autant que des problèmes à résoudre par les deux groupes ethniques pour réaliser les aspirations de la société canadienne toute entière.

4. Par suite de la divergence de ces traditions, la CNUCC se rend de plus en plus compte de l'importance du bilinguisme pour parvenir à établir un véritable dialogue au sein du monde universitaire.

5. C'est en tentant d'établir quel est l'intérêt de la nation vis-à-vis de l'enseignement supérieur en termes de bilinguisme, que nous avons découvert que, sous les différences de langue et de culture, il existe une vaste base de compréhension mutuelle et d'unité au sein du monde universitaire.

6. D'autre part, les universités et collèges du Canada se rendent parfaitement compte que l'association des Canadiens francophones et anglophones exige et exigera, pour être fructueuse, la poursuite constante d'études objectives autant que les efforts des hommes de bonne volonté.

7. Nous acceptons l'idée de plus en plus commune, que pour sauvegarder l'unité de notre société, les Canadiens devront acquérir une bien meilleure connaissance de l'autre langue, si nous voulons une plus grande efficacité dans le gouvernement, les organismes nationaux bénévoles et le monde des affaires.

of English or French in order rapidly to increase the supply of competent teachers in Canada.

6. That, in order to make known to as many young Canadians as possible the present development and future possibilities of the whole of their country, the Commission recommend the development of an extensive exchange and travel programme for young Canadians and, in particular, for university students.

Préambule

1. La Conférence nationale des universités et des collèges canadiens (dont l'agence administrative est la Fondation des universités canadiennes) est une association bénévole et non-gouvernementale. Elle groupe 50 universités et collèges du Canada et a pour but de servir les intérêts de l'enseignement supérieur dans notre pays.

2. Les buts de la Conférence sont de promouvoir et de favoriser l'enseignement supérieur au Canada par les

moyens suivants:

(1) étudier les problèmes courants dans le domaine de l'enseignement supérieur

(2) rendre service à tous ses membres en leur fournissant particulièrement:

(a) des renseignements d'ordre général sur toutes les universités

(b) des renseignements et de l'aide en ce qui

concerne les bourses d'études

(c) des renseignements et de l'aide sur le plan

des programmes internationaux pour l'éducation

(d) un forum pour la discussion de questions

d'intérêt commun.

TITLE: Submission to Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

AUTHOR: Executive Committee
National Conference of Canadian Universities
and Colleges (Canadian Universities Foundation)
Ottawa, Ontario.

Brief of: 5 pages (English and French respectively); 6 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST: This extremely short bilingual brief consists in the main of the authors' assertion of their awareness of the problems with which the Commission is seized. Recommendations are made that the Commission review federal and provincial machinery, Canada-wide agencies, and institutions of higher education in the light of their past and potential contribution to the bilingual and bicultural development of Canada. It is also suggested that the Commission estimate and recommend regarding the funds required to support research and training in second language teaching, the study of Canadian society, and the encouragement of student exchange programs.

It is noteworthy that the brief states that the necessary studies and programmes "cannot be brought about solely by provincial initiatives" nor "as a specifically provincial responsibility". However, the French text of paragraph 8 (p. 3 in both versions) omits a rendition of the first quotation and speaks only of federal-provincial cooperation or "collaboration".

ATT: RESEARCH

Has the N.C.C.U.C. (Canadian Universities Foundation) launched any "initiatives" in this area?

TABLE OF CONTENTS:	PAGES
6 RECOMMENDATIONS:	4-5
- Review of existing Federal-Provincial Machinery -	<u>para 1</u> - Page 4
- Review of Canada-Wide Agencies, (including C.B.C., N.F.B., N.R.C., N.C.C.U.C., Canada Council, Canadian Education Association, etc.,	" 2 - " 4
- Study Education Institutions in Bilingual Provinces	" 3 - " 4
- Estimate & Recommend Funds for Research in second language teaching and problems of Canadian Society.	" 4 - " 4
- Estimate & Recommend Scholarship and Bursary Funds for Language Teachers.	" 5 - P. 4- 5
- Recommend Development of Student Exchange and Travel Programme	" 6 - " 5

BRIEF: Preamble----- paras 1-8 pages 1-3
Role of Universities----- page 3

The N.C.C.U.C. (Canadian Universities Foundation is executive agency) "is a non-governmental and voluntary association of 50 Canadian universities and colleges". It serves Canadian higher education by studying current problems and by exchanges of information in various areas such as awards, international education programmes, and by providing a forum for discussing matters of mutual concern.

BACKGROUND PAPERS

562B 750-517

Conference of Canadian
Universities and
Colleges

OTTAWA

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

- a) 50 Canadian Universities and Colleges
- b) a non-governmental, voluntary association.

2. PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

- a) Organized for the purpose of serving the interests of higher education in Canada through:
 - (i) study of current problems in higher education
 - (ii) making available to members general data on Canadian Universities, information and assistance award programs, and information on inter-national educational programs
 - (iii) a forum for discussion of matters of common interest.

3. PREPARATION OF BRIEF

- a) Prepared, written, and submitted by the Executive Committee of the N.C.C.U.C. after consultation with the member institutions.

B. RESEARCH SECTION: QUESTIONS

Dr. NEATBY

- p.2 (1) Elaborate on "implications of bilingualism in achieving genuine communication...."?

C. PROGRAM AND LIAISON READERS

- p.2 (1) You accept the need for "a much higher degree of
para. 7 second language competence".... "from many Canadians.. in government, in national voluntary activity and in business enterprise". How extensive should this second language competence be and how do you suggest the relevant areas should proceed to implement it?

- (2) Why, in your French text, do you omit to translate the admonition that "large scale voluntary educational programmes are to be undertaken in the interest of bilingualism and cultural pluralism, they cannot be brought about solely by provincial initiatives"
- (3) What are the implications of the statement "and constitutional means should be found to do this" in reference to "A much higher degree of bilinguality than exists at present"?
- p.4
Rec. 4 (4) Does this imply the creation of some institution for "continuing study of the problems of Canadian society"?
- p.6
Rec. 6 (5) Could you suggest the most effective procedure for the travel and exchange programme for university students? What is the most beneficial type of exchange programme?
- (6) Some people have suggested exchanges involving professors at English and French language universities. Do you support this idea? What would be its possibilities?
- (7) What specific things can the universities do to help create what you call "a fruitful partnership between English and French-speaking Canadians?".
- (RESEARCH)
- (8) I suggest we ask the N.C.C.U.C. to develop their point about the "penalty Canada is paying for the neglect of humanities and social sciences research".

78 107
A LETTER TO MR. ANDRÉ LAURENDEAU AND THE ROYAL
COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
ON CURES FOR CANADIAN DISUNITY.

51121
11082
Abstract:

The writer of this letter to Mr. André Laurendeau, Co-Chairman, (after the public hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Calgary on 8th June 1964, at which he--the writer--spoke) explains: -

1. that he believes that Landed Immigrants to Canada expect to obtain Canadian Nationality from the country of their adoption; instead they find themselves "citizens" of some particular Province owing to the Balkanization of the country through the weakness of the Federal Government, as contrasted with the strength of most Provincial Governments.

2. his belief that if Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act were repealed and replaced so that Education ceased to be a responsibility of Provincial Governments and a federal Department of Education created instead, the present French-English tension in Canada would eventually subside.

Further, so far from Quebec's authority over Education being destroyed as a result of this move, the influence of Quebecois on the content of the language and history instruction over the whole country, in the National Schools which are proposed, would be enormously increased because Canadiens would naturally have a part to play (a) in the development of national standards of instruction in languages and in the national curricula in languages, and (b) in the development of national standards of teacher-training and certification. As well, the federal Department of Education would naturally have to call upon Canadian historians for assistance in devising the national history curricula and in writing new textbooks in which the history of New France, of French Canada and of French-English relations in Canada were fairly, properly and accurately presented.

Calgary, 12th June 1964.

M. T. Myres

c/o Department of Biology,
University of Alberta, Calgary,
Calgary, Canada.

M. André Laurendeau, Co-Chairman,
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P. O. Box 1508,
Ottawa, Canada.

12th June, 1964.

Monsieur,

CANADIAN DISUNITY: A CURE?

One of your Co-Secretaries requested publicly on 8th June 1964 in Calgary that the public express its views to the Royal Commission in letter form as well as in formal Collective Briefs. I therefore do so in order to repeat on paper (A), and also to amplify (B), some remarks I made towards the conclusion of the public session held by the Royal Commission in Calgary on the evening of 8th June 1964, of which I understand you will have a tape-recording.

A. In the remarks referred to, I tried to project the viewpoint of the Landed Immigrant leaving the European Continent for Canada:

1. I suggested that whereas native-born Canadians often only discover their true identity when they go abroad and are misidentified as Americans, many Landed Immigrants already have a strong conception of what they want to become, namely citizens of a strong united country, Canada. I suggested that it shocks them to discover, when they arrive, that so many of the people of their adopted country in fact think of themselves not as Canadians but as Quebecois, Maritimers, residents of Ontario, Albertans, British Columbians etc. - "citizens" indeed of semi-autonomous provinces. I think that the statistics of the % of the inhabitants of each province who have never lived for any period outside the province of their birth should be most revealing of the extent of this kind of Provincialism of the personal identity.

2. I suggested that whereas the immigrants mentioned are spread fairly widely throughout the English-speaking provinces, and have to make use of English in day-to-day transactions, an overwhelming majority of native Canadiens are confined within the Province of Quebec and either cannot, or will not, mix with the rest of their countrymen. Consequently the Quiet Revolution in Quebec instead of resolving itself at the Municipal level, so to speak, as would be the case if it were taking place among Italian

or Ukrainian immigrants (or Dutch or Germans) has created a crisis in Federal-Provincial relations, because "concessions" to Quebec will open the way to the demand by other Provinces for similar increases of authority "in their own houses". (There is an object lesson to be learned by Canada from the difficulty with which the United States is maintaining its world image as an enlightened nation at a time when many of the States are "pulling out all the stops" to combat attempts at equitable Civil Rights Legislation introduced by the Federal Government).

3. There has been a noticeable weakening of the strength of the Federal Government in Canada during the last four years and this has taken place at the same time as a noticeable increase in the strength and independence of the Provinces, most noticeably in the far western provinces. This weakening of central authority both internally within Parliament, and more recently as the Ottawa government wrestles with Quebec nationalism, can only result in Balkanization of the country into five or more separate entities, and all that the migrant to Canada has hoped for in coming to Canada, rather than going to the United States originally, will have been in vain. To return to the ideals of the Fathers of Confederation, which might be crudely described as being to provide a single voice for the needs of international intercourse, particularly in the realm of Defence (? against the United States), while retaining as much of the original regional strength, autonomy and diversity of interest as possible, would be completely reactionary in view of the way in which international affairs are conducted in the world of the 1960's, and the need as well of a broad international view in such areas as the Education of a People. Just as the Provinces outside Quebec proceeded to ban the teaching of the French language soon after joining Confederation, so the Nigerian federal union---somewhat similar to that in Canada in 1867---is already weakening because of the divisive tendencies of its regional interests. Likewise the political history of Jugoslavia and other countries with a diversity of languages and cultures should be a warning to us of the anarchy which results from over-strong regional loyalties.

4. Therefore what I believe is required in Canada for true national identification and true national unity is an increase in the powers of the Federal Government and, as I said on 8th June in Calgary, I could wish that the Royal Commission might be able to convince the country and its governments that with the revision of the British North America Act so that Education (Section 93) ceased to be any longer a Provincial privilege and became instead a Federal responsibility, the question of national identity and national unity could be resolved satisfactorily.

This, I believe, would be the case not only for English-speaking Canadians but also, paradoxical as it may at first seem to them, for Quebecois. This change would be an enormously difficult one to present in the Royal Commission Report since, although it is fundamental to the whole question posed in the Commission's terms of reference, there are few words in these "terms" which can be taken directly to refer to it. But the attempt should be made.

B. As there was not time to explain my reasons for believing this, I would like to add the following to what I said publicly:

1. Much discussion on 8th June 1964 in Calgary revolved around the problems: (a) how English-speaking Canadians could be enabled to learn French more easily; (b) how English-speaking Canadians could be enabled to recognise the advantages of knowing some French, and how they could increasingly be enabled to use their French-speaking ability once acquired; and (c) how the Canadien could be prevented from losing his French-speaking ability when he goes to live outside Quebec. It was generally agreed that the answers to (b) and (c) lay in the establishment of a French-language (or "Ethnic"-language) radio and TV network across the entire country. There was in addition criticism of the way in which French is taught in the schools in the English-speaking regions. (One might also criticise most English-language local radio stations in Canada as being paste-board copies of U.S. stations; of little cultural merit, if any).

The answer to (a), surely, could lie in Federal, rather than Provincial, jurisdiction over Education in Canadian schools? Indeed it is now obvious that it was a mistake (of the "Schools Questions") for Education to have been made a provincial responsibility in the first place. But within a Division of Modern Languages in a federal Department of Education there would naturally be Canadien authorities who would decide the manner of French-language instruction in the National Schools across the country. Likewise, within a Division of History, the way in which the history of New France, of French Canada and French-English relations in Canada was treated in English-speaking areas would be decided by Canadien historians in association with their English-speaking colleagues. (There would also be a need for a division responsible for textbook production employing the services of recognised experts from both within the Department of Education and outside it). I would hasten to add that the federal Department of Education would fix only the broad lines of the national curriculum requirements and standards, and the broad adaptation of the national curriculum to the needs and requirements of particular regions. But within this

frame-work individual schools and individual teachers would adapt the curricular outlines to local understanding and conditions, since the greater freedom that there is within the broad frame-work the better for those taught.

2. If, then, teaching of the French language and of French history was as compulsory as the teaching of English and English history through certain grades in all Canadian schools, and if in the federal Department of Education Canadiens were largely in charge of designing the French-language curricula (and who are better qualified, after all?) "quiet revolutionists" in Quebec might, I think, feel that they had indeed gained something from the change-over to Federal responsibility for Education. The practical influence of Quebecois in determining the type of education that was provided in schools outside Quebec would be greater than ever before, and Canadiens living in English-speaking regions would be assured for the first time of adequate French-language instruction in whatever schools their children attended, for the reason that this would be guaranteed by the national government and would not be dependent, as so controversially in the past, on the good-will of the local authorities. Furthermore, and at the same time, Canadien children both in Quebec and elsewhere would be required to be taught an equal amount of the English language which would enormously broaden the opportunities open to many of them after leaving school.

Finally, with the creation of National Schools there would no longer be the frustrations and inequities to child and parent alike, that occur when parents have to move from one province to another and have to enroll the child in another school. The child would automatically have the right to go into the grade he would have been in in the province from which he has just come.

3. With the advent of National Schools the necessity for, and the "fighting" that takes place over, Separate Roman Catholic French-language schools in the English-speaking regions would be removed once and for all. Every child in the country would have to take a minimum number of years of instruction in French and in English, and those who wished could take far more. (In this regard I am ignoring, advisedly, the religious aspects of the Separate School system because I know little about them. However, Canadiens, must understand that on this Continent (in Canada as in the United States), the majority belief is that the transmission of religious faith and practice from one generation to another is the responsibility of priests and parents, and not of the schools; if this is accepted by Anglicans, Lutherans and Jews in Canada, the Roman Catholics (English as well as French speaking) must accept it also. Indeed I understand that the new generation of Canadien students

--and even the Lesage government--may already be showing signs that they recognise that religion is to be understood primarily as a personal, not a state, responsibility).

4. Another important consequence of the creation of a federal Department of Education would undoubtedly be that there would be a huge need for teachers of French in English Canada, and so a migration of Quebec teachers to the English-speaking provinces to meet these requirements, which could only result in a greater understanding, outside Quebec, of the French mind and culture.

5. Teacher-training would also have to become a federal responsibility and standards would be uniform across the whole country. Consequently teachers would automatically be accreditable to any Canadian school anywhere, to teach those subjects and grades which they are qualified to teach. There can be no national unity so long as teachers have to seek re-accreditation or re-certification in any new province to which they happen to move after being trained elsewhere, nor should they any longer be humiliated by the province to which they have moved by being forced to take additional courses before their teaching qualifications are accepted or endorsed there.

6. I feel most strongly that national unity is also impossible so long as nurses, doctors and lawyers, as well as teachers, do not have the unhampered right, once trained, to practice their profession anywhere in Canada, without being required to re-register, or to undergo additional examinations. The medical profession, perhaps, even more than teaching, is largely international in character and scope, and we find English physiotherapists and Australian nurses working in Canadian hospitals, just as English hospitals are now to a considerable extent staffed by Indian doctors. It would be most desirable, I think, that nurses and doctors as well as teachers should be registered centrally. This would involve some transfers of responsibility for training and examinations from provincial associations and authorities to national associations and authorities, and would affect the universities in some respects. But generally the universities should remain as independent as possible from any outside controls and free in particular, to a greater extent than at present, from provincial interference.

In addition it would also be necessary to see that there was unification of the multitude of pension schemes now existing within each of the professions discussed, and also among university professors. For without such unification of pension schemes, or at least free transferability guaranteed by Law, full mobility of personnel between provinces will remain impossible, and the possibility of professional Canadians having equal opportunities and

social security rights in all provinces will remain a dream.

SUMMARY: If the Federal Government were made responsible for Education, it would become possible for Canadians from different areas and backgrounds to mix just as freely as they wished to mix. There could only be an increase in the diversity of backgrounds and experience of those present together at any one place and time, over what there is now; I can remember having met and talked with fewer than half a dozen Quebecois in some six years in western Canada. With equality of the standard of French-language instruction in all parts of the country, little would prevent those Quebecois with the inclination to work outside Quebec from doing so, while for professional people equal dignity and free mobility would be possible if professional training also ceased to be the responsibility of each province separately.

Postscript: It is necessary to rebut any criticism that what I have suggested above would result in a "melting-pot" culture, and loss of Canadian bi- or multi-culturalism. So far as Canadian language and culture are concerned it can only increase the quality of Canadian life outside Quebec. Personally, I am much more concerned about the greater appreciation in Canada of the rich cultural heritages of the so-called "ethnic" groups: Finnish, Ukrainian, Polish, Italian, Dutch, German, etc. I spent one year, 1962-63, at the small new university at the Canadian Lakehead (in Port Arthur) where about 50% of the population do not speak either English or French at home and where the Finns form about 25% of the population. I saw enormous possibilities there for the presentation of art, drama, music and poetry from the homelands of these groups to mixed audiences so that the process of looking at and understanding the language, lore and mythology of other minorities even than his own could create from within each "ethnic" group a type of multicultural Canadian to whom the word "universal" could be applied. As evidence I might mention that after only one year there, I have on my shelves translations of several of the Finnish literary classics along with Icelandic sagas, and in my mind there is an appreciation of Finnish and Scandinavian character and history which I would not have were it not for my stay there. I have no doubt that an

appreciation of French literature and history could enrich the lives of western Canadians likewise. As a result of my own experience, however, I would plead most strongly for an equally close look at the ways in which "ethnic" cultural heritages can be as well preserved and propagated as those of the Canadien. With Federal responsibility for a national education with close adaptation of local curricular options to local needs, Finnish and Icelandic literature could after-all be taught in certain grades of the schools at the Lakehead and in Manitoba (as well as in the universities in those areas) for those students who belong to, or are in close association with, minority groups, but are not themselves going on to do university studies.

Yours sincerely,

Timothy Myres

M. T. Myres,
Assistant Professor of Zoology,
University of Alberta, Calgary.

Biographical: I was born and brought up in England and have my B.A. degree from Cambridge University. My father is the university Librarian at Oxford, where my grandfather was Wykeham Professor of Ancient History. I came to Canada in 1954 as a Landed Immigrant when I was 23, and completed my Ph.D. from the University of British Columbia in 1959. In 1962 I returned to Canada after three years back in England, and taught for a year at Lakehead College, Port Arthur, Ontario.

-63B22

TITLE: A letter to Mr. André Laurendeau and
the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
on cures for Canadian disunity.

AUTHOR: M.T. Myres, Assistant Professor of Zoology
University of Alberta, Calgary, Alta.

Brief of 7 plus 1 pages; 4 recommendations.

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This brief in the form of a letter to the Co-Chairman of the Royal Commission was written in response to the request expressed by one of the Co-Secretaries at the public hearing in Calgary on June 8, 1964 that participants amplify their views in "Letter Form" as well as in formal collective briefs.

The main burden of this submission are the advantages to be gained from the proposed transference of responsibility for education from provincial to federal authority. The author asserts that this change would redound to the advantage of the Canadiens as well as contribute mightily to national unity and identity.

ATT.: RESEARCH

- If the author's main proposal falls within the purview of the Commission it may be worthwhile projecting the steps and effects a Federal Education Department would necessitate and bring about.

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BRIEF:

Abstract

Frontispiece

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- Revision of the British North America Act	2-3
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The author is a native-born Englishman, whose father is the University Librarian at Oxford where his grandfather was Wykeham Professor of Ancient History. Coming to Canada as a "Landed Immigrant" in 1954, he received his Ph. D. from University of British Columbia in 1959. Following 3 years in England, he taught at Lakehead College, Port Arthur, Ontario for a year where he gained an appreciation of the contributions of the Scandinavian Groups to a multicultural Canada.

ANALYST'S SUMMARYExaggerated Provincial LoyaltiesPages 1-2

On arrival in Canada landed immigrants are shocked to find that Provincial and Regional Loyalties tend to outweigh Canadian identity in the minds of the native-born. The author feels that these attitudes are somehow related to the relative degree of mobility between regions. Should the process continue however, Canada risks "Balkanization" into "five or more separate entities"

Revision of the B.N.A. ActPages 2-3

Although his proposal may fall outside the Commission's terms of reference, he advocates that "Education (section 93) cease... to be any longer a Provincial Privilege and become instead a Federal Responsibility..." This increase in Federal power would inevitably resolve the question of national identity and unity.

Amplification of Calgary Remarks...Consequences of Proposal..Pages 3-6

In a Federal Department of Education Canadiens "would naturally... decide the manner of French language instruction in the National Schools across the Country..." Similar influence would be gained by Canadiens in teaching the History of New France, French Canada and French-English relations. Uniform compulsory instruction of French language and History from standard curricula and text books would go far toward achieving the aims of Quebec's "Quiet Revolutionists".

Mobility between provinces would be increased since Canadien parents and children would be assured of the quality and nature of the instruction awaiting them elsewhere in Canada. English-speaking Canadians would enjoy similar gains.

The author concedes that these schools would of necessity be secular in nature, the traditional religious division would disappear. But acceptance of this change is in line with North American educational developments generally, "and even the Lesage Government-- may already be showing signs that they recognize that religion is to be understood primarily as a personal, not a state, responsibility..."

The proposed change will require a considerable migration of teachers of French to English-speaking Canada. This will increase contacts and therefore mutual understanding. However, it will require standard automatic accreditation and certification of teachers throughout Canada. At this point, the author inserts an Obiter Dictum calling for Canada-Wide accreditation of Medical (and Legal) Personnel. Another necessity will be portability of pension and social security benefits in order that mobility may be unhampered.

"Summary"

Page 6

Federal responsibility for education would make it possible "for Canadians of different backgrounds to mix just as freely as they wished to mix... little would prevent those Quebecois with the inclination to work outside Quebec from doing so..."

"Postscript"

Pages 6-7

The author makes a plea for a "close look at the ways in which "Ethnic" cultural heritages can be as well preserved and propagated as those of the Canadien" particularly for those minority group students who are not going on to University. This could be done on a local basis depending on the demography of the area. The author is anxious to rebut any accusation that he favors a "Melting-Pot" culture, but rather is eager to preserve the advantages and benefits of Canada's "Bi - or multi - culturalism".

CA121

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

-63322

Mutual Co-Operation League
Voice of Freedom
38 Rowley Avenue
Toronto 12, Ontario

June 25, 1964.

"M E M O R A N D U M"

- 1) As may be easily detected from the 1961 Census of Canada, there is neither one race nor language in this country forming a clear majority. As far as culture is concerned, we may speak of a composite - European culture, formed by its linguistic and regional varieties. It is here that quality counts. Many smaller groups can thus favourably contest the English and French leadership in this field, especially if North American contributions are considered.
- 2) For these reasons, we consider the advancement of bilingualism as insufficient in scope, and that of biculturalism as limited in vision. While rejecting both the racial and linguistic domination of one or two groups over all the others in Canada, with a spirit of Mutual Co-operation, we may settle for a common denominator. In speaking, this could be provided by the English language, but a reform of its written version is long overdue, in order to satisfy the basic sense of pronouncing the Latin alphabet. This should prevent the crippling blows with which most of the officials, teachers and other unilingual persons treat non-English family names. However, the French pronunciation is hardly better.
- 3) As a multilingual and multicultural body, we realize better than others the value of learning additional languages. They are an important factor in understanding and better relations among men. In consequence, we propose that in every public school a second language should be included as a regular subject, starting from the 5th grade. For schools where French is the language of instruction it should be English, and where English is taught, the second language should be French.

4) With respect to the inherent right of a human being to preserve his identity and heritage, we propose that children from any community of our member groups, with at least 500 souls in a compact area, should be able to receive instruction in their own language of at least 2 weekly periods from first grade of the public school, and treated as a regular subject of the school curriculum. The teachers in these instances should be appointed by the communities, to be paid by local Boards of Education. Related Slavic and other groups, less than 500 strong individually or showing preference for a common medium could also pool their resources in this case.

5) Our lack of enthusiasm for "bilingualism" arises from the fact that while many from our groups are multilingual, and include both the English and French as a fluent means of conversation, on a proportionate basis they are being constantly overlooked by both Federal and Provincial authorities in their appointments to public offices.

6) We also believe that the strength of Canada resides in diversity, and those who master a number of languages are the best ambassadors of Canada at home and abroad.

For the Mutual Co-operation League,

We are, gentlemen,

Yours sincerely

Milan Jakubec
president

Joseph Trebeska
secretary treasurer

August Nommik
vice president

G. Liepins
representative

N. Amber
Vice president

A. Kotelnikov
vice president



CA121

TITLE:

AUTHOR: Mutual Co-operation League,
Voice of Freedom.

Toronto.

Brief of 2 pages; 2 recommendations.

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

The authors' thesis could be summarized as follows. The Canadian culture is a composite of European culture, with the English language as a common denominator. They "consider the advancement of bilingualism as insufficient in scope, and that of biculturalism as limited in vision."

They propose that a second language (English or French) be taught in schools, from the 5th grade. As for other languages, "we propose that children from any community of our member groups, with at least 500 souls in a compact area, should be able to receive instruction in their own language of at least 2 weekly periods from first grade of the public school, and treated as a regular subject of the school curriculum."

ATT: RESEARCH

-check the accusation that, on a proportionate basis, ethnic groups are overlooked by both Federal and Provincial authorities in their appointments to public offices.-(par. 5)

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1-2

THE AUTHORS:

MUTUAL CO-OPERATION LEAGUE, VOICE OF FREEDOM:

Goals: To defend liberty, justice and Christian traditions in America;
to restore freedom and independence of : ALBANIA, ARMENIA, BOHEMIA,
BULGARIA, BYELORUSSIA, CHINA, etc.....

Brief to Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by W. L. Morton

A. Introduction

I speak as a private citizen, and represent no one. I do, however, speak as a professional student of Canadian history who has discussed and written upon that subject for some thirty years. It is my belief that I speak out of a clear and coherent, if by no means full, knowledge of that history.

B. On that basis I venture to put the following recommendations before the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

I That English and French be by law of equal standing in Parliament, the federal courts, the federal civil service in Ottawa and wherever else may be necessary at the discretion of Her Majesty's Government of Canada, and in the administration of all federal agencies;

II That Ottawa and its surroundings on both sides of the river be made a federal district with a bilingual administration, with both English and French schools, and with all necessary provision for the cultural activities of English and French, and the other conscious and adequately organized and privately supported cultures existent in Canada.

III That the federal government be given the power to take remedial action when any citizen or any body of citizens suffer impairment of any linguistic, or cultural, rights recognized in law or by administrative action;

IV That a federal ministry of culture be created;

V That an advisory council of cultural nationalities be created;

VI That the Bill of Rights be amended to include linguistic and cultural rights, and made binding as part of the constitution of Canada on both federal and provincial governments;

VII That the following recommendations be made for reference to the provincial governments for their consideration;

(1) That provision be made for the extension of instruction in

English or French as the language of instruction by school district as population warrants;

(2) That wherever this is done English or French be taught as the second language;

(3) That similar provision be made for separate schools when requested;

(4) That such rights when granted be guaranteed by the federal government in a re-written Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867;

(5) That languages other than English and French be authorized on request in terms to be specified by provincial Department of Education to be used as a second or third language (not a language of instruction) in the schools, and that this right be similarly protected.

C. My arguments in support of these proposals rest upon three premises.

The first is that Canada is a political nationality in which there is no political duality, no associate, separate, or special political status for any province, or any cultural nationality. None can be

tolerated because the Canadian community is made up of citizens equal in right and in status. Political duality in any form is denied and rejected in these remarks; cultural duality is urged both as a matter of doing justice to French Canada, and as needed for the maintenance of the political unity of the community.

The second premise is that Canada, which is politically one nation, is culturally made up of two chief nationalities, and a number of minor cultural groups, groups minor not in their cultures, but in their numbers in Canada.

The third premise is that the province of Quebec is not to be equated with French Canada and that French Canadians outside Quebec are not to be denied the use of their language and the development of their culture for the sake of Quebec. A special status for Quebec is not only a form of political duality, it is also the abandonment of the Canadian ideal of equality of the founding peoples in language and culture just when it has become possible to make the ideal a reality. The creation of an unilingual Quebec would be disastrous for French Canada, and for all Canada. The maintenance of a clear distinction between French Canada and Quebec is therefore, I venture to say, a major necessity if the work of this Commission is to bear fruit.

I believe, therefore, that one thing our times require is the firm maintenance of the political unity of Canada. Canada is a political unity because of its history. It is an economic unit because of its geography and in particular of its northern situation. It is a moral unity

because it rests on consent freely and lawfully given by the representatives of the four original provinces, and by terms of union negotiated with the representatives of each of the others. No conquest, no coercion, entered in any way into the Canadian union created in 1867. Confederation rests on free assent, an assent which, once given, is binding until by free consent some new accord is reached among the parties to union. Nearly every other state formed by union during the past two centuries, including our great democratic neighbour to the south, was, it is relevant to note, founded on and united by war.

I believe no less, however, that equally fundamental to the Canadian community is the recognition and acceptance of cultural diversity within political unity. This is a very ancient feature of Canadian history, and goes back to the beginning of English-French relations in Canada. This catholicity in matters of language and culture has distinguished Canada ever since. Canada is not a country of cultural conformity; it is one of deliberate diversity. The existence of the English, the French, the Germans, the Ukrainians, and others, each with their own language and characteristics preserved in a Canadian idiom, bear witness to this fact.

So novel, nevertheless, so unusual in the first century of political nationalism has this cultural liberalism been that it was never fully accepted at the time, nor is it fully understood or accepted among Canadians today. This is, I believe, the penalty of our never having known, much less understood, our own history in its own right and in its own terms.

The French language, for example, has rights in Canada, but they are limited, and their historical origins are much narrower than is usually believed. It has never enjoyed outside the province of Quebec, and does not today enjoy, equality with English. When its use is extended beyond the province of Quebec, in road signs, or on the French network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the extension rests on practical need, not on legal guarantee. The language rights of the French are thus in a legal strait jacket. The position ^{of the French language} is inadequate, inappropriate and unjust in the circumstances of today.

The circumstances of its actual use even in the province of Quebec, and in Ottawa are even worse. Most jobs, and particularly top jobs, are closed to a French Canadian unless he speaks English as well as French; they have not been so closed to an English Canadian. It is necessary, if we are to keep the Canadian union on the basis of consent, and to do justice between the two peoples that founded the institutions of Canada, to give the fullest practical application to the principle of bilingualism.

The immediate place to ensure that that application is carried out is in the federal capital of Ottawa. It is a disgrace to all Canadians that the national capital should be a provincial municipality. It should not be situated in any one province or under the jurisdiction of any one province. It ought to have its own administration, bilingual in character and personnel. It ought to have its schools, both separate and linguistic, under federal law. It ought to be aided powerfully by the central government to become culturally both English and French, and socially both

English and French, so that no French Canadian, as at present, may hesitate to take his family there only to see it cease to be French, or to be adequately educated in the French culture.

To ensure, moreover, that the equal rights of English and French speaking Canadians should be safeguarded throughout Canada, Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867 ought, in my opinion, be amended accordingly.

I would also suggest, as a way of dealing with the fact that other languages and cultures exist in Canada than the English and the French, that the two official languages should be designated as public languages, all others as private. The two chief cultures might similarly be designated as major, the remainder as minor. Bilingualism should, then, be realized in Ottawa with all deliberate speed, and, I would suggest, in the rest of Canada as rapidly, but no faster, as local circumstances may warrant.

By itself, however, such a measure is not enough. Language is only the expression of a whole way of life, of a body of custom, law, manners, beliefs, practices, and intellectual formation that it is today conventional and convenient to call a culture. There is certainly a French Canadian culture in Canada. As a culture it is one of the strongest and most distinctive in the world. There is, although much less evidently, an English culture, one not marked as strongly by kinship; and not as distinguished by language, but still demonstrably a culture. There are a number of other cultures, quite as important and as valid as cultures, of very small percentages of the national population, however locally concentrated.

It is in accord with the character of Canadian society, with the way in which Canada has grown, to recognize and accept this cultural variety. It is also desirable for the future of Canada to protect these Canadian cultural nationalities from the obliterating pressures of American mass culture.

To give significance to such recognition and consideration, I propose the creation of a federal Minister of Culture. I am aware of the objections.

I know what fierce opposition there would be from the press and many English Canadians if such a proposal were even taken note of. But I venture to suggest that it is time that this country ceased being governed by the tastes and the economic principles of mid-Victorian England. Canadian cultures exist and cannot be removed. Let us see ^{that} they exist freely and well. Let us accept our cultural diversity, and let us give public patronage to the arts, letters and science like most civilized nations, and let us give it to our two chief and to our several cultures.

Such a minister of course could have no power of direction, or of censorship. But he would have a budget to distribute -- a very great power in itself -- to such federal agencies as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, the National Gallery, the National Museum, the National Research Council, and the fully autonomous bodies such as The Canada Council, the Royal Society of Canada, the Humanities Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, the Canadian Universities Foundation, the Dominion Drama League, and ^{such} as others as may merit recognition and support.

The minister would be responsible to Parliament for the distribution of his departmental estimates, but not for their expenditure by the agencies to which they were granted.

I would recommend that he be also given authority to declare any foreign owned periodical or magazine, written and published in whole or in part in a foreign country, and not of specific literary, artistic or scientific content, once it has gained a mass circulation, a commercial commodity and subject to such customs or excise duties as Parliament may decide.

Following the same line of thought, that of the need to recognize and support on major and minor cultures, I believe it necessary to create a Federal Council of Cultural Nationalities. Its function would be to hear appeals from cultural groups in Canada, whether provincial or national, who claimed to have suffered, as a group or through its members, legal or financial discrimination, want of recognition, or any other detriment to their existence as a cultural group. Such as it chose to forward, it would direct either to the Minister of Culture or to the courts for a hearing under an amended Section 93.

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Section _A of the B.N.A. Act of 1867, I am convinced, ought to be amended so as to give the federal government power to take remedial action when any citizen, or cultural nationality, suffers loss of cultural recognition by the action of a province.

Such a proposal brings one face to face with a difficulty which the Commission no doubt has faced since it began its work. That difficulty

is that education is necessarily an inseparable part of the use of language and the life of culture.

Yet education is strictly a provincial subject of jurisdiction under our constitution, while the Commission was appointed by, and may recommend only, to the federal government.

If a mere citizen, without commission or responsibility, may rush in where the Commission may fear to tread, I would say with respectful emphasis that the Commission cannot hope to discharge its duties unless it somehow makes reference to the subject of education. Education is inescapably within its purview. I venture to suggest, therefore, that the following proposals might be considered as recommendations for reference to the provincial governments with all possible recognition of the jurisdiction of the province in education.

The first is that a province should allow, when requested by a petition of three-fifths of the parents concerned, instruction in the language of the home (English or French) in any school district in any province in which parents are described as English or French speaking in the last decennial census, and in number equal to the percentage of the population of the said district by the same census which the French population is of the total population of Canada, a tolerance of five percent to be allowed before such instruction need be begun or ended.

The second is that similar provision should be made, on the same conditions, for separate schools (where they do not now exist) when requested by parents of any Christian church or other denomination.

1.2. Not of
to analysis

The third is that private languages, on the same terms, might be taught as second languages (not as a language of instruction) to those desiring instruction in them.

Finally, I suggest that such privileges, once granted, should be protected by an amended Section 93.

I believe some such measures are in principle necessary if the labour of the Commission is to have the results desired for them. With the provinces assuredly lies all hope for the achievement of an effective use of the two public languages of Canada; with them also will lie in great part the development of the various cultures of Canada.

W. L. Morton

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 760-642

Mr. W.L. Morton

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON INDIVIDUAL

1. MEMBERSHIP

1. Brief submitted as that of a private citizen
2. The author is a professional student of Canadian history, who has written upon that subject for some thirty years.
3. A personal friend of Mr. Morrison.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

p. 3 re Canada as politically one nation :

Q. 1 Quelle est sa définition d'une nation?

p. 3 Après s'être opposé à l'idée d'une dualité politique (political duality) au Canada, le professeur Morton déclare:
"A special status for Quebec is not only a form of political duality, it is also the abandonment of the Canadian ideal of equality of the founding peoples in language and culture just when it has become possible to make the ideal a reality."

Q. 2. Cet idéal existe-t-il chez les Canadiens anglais?

Cet idéal d'égalité est-il un concept moral ou légal?

A quels signes l'auteur reconnaît-il que cet idéal est en train de devenir une réalité?

p. 3 "The creation of an unilingual Quebec would be disastrous for French Canada, and for all Canada."

Q. 3 Pourquoi?

Est-il néanmoins possible que cela se réalise?

p. 3

"I believe, therefore, that one thing our times require is the firm maintenance of the political unity of Canada."

Q. 4 Aux yeux de l'auteur, qu'est le Canada: une union de dix provinces ou un pacte entre deux groupes?

p. 6

re La nécessité d'amender l'article 133 de l'AANB

Q. 5 Comment devrait se lire le nouvel article 133?

p. 7

re La création d'un ministère fédéral de la Culture

Q. 6 Le ministre titulaire deviendrait-il responsable devant le parlement de toutes les agences culturelles fédérales?

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re Statut du français et de l'anglais au niveau fédéral

Q. 7 Quel serait le statut de ces mêmes langues aux niveaux provincial et municipal?

C. RESEARCH SECTION

1.

Would you agree to accept other languages, other than French and English, as the languages of instruction in areas which are known to have a sizeable number of children who don't speak and comprehend either of the official languages? It should be added that these languages would have only limited use, that is during the first years of child's schooling.

2.

Various ethnic groups maintain their own system of schools aimed primarily at teaching mother tongue to children from the "ethnic" families. Would you like to see these schools be given wider and more official status, and, above all, would you support the recommendation for the financial support of these schools by any one of our form of governments: municipal, provincial, federal.

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Mémoire personnel

soumis à la

Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme

par

Urbain Moreau, ing.p., ingénieur-conseil,

1240 rue Royale,

Trois-Rivières, P. Qué.

1 - RESUME DES PREMISSES

Les échanges entre deux groupements linguistiques différents et les efforts communs de ces deux groupements posent un problème de communications au niveau de l'individu.

Le nombre des individus de chaque groupement qui deviendront bilingues est fonction de l'intérêt personnel que chacun de ces individus trouvera à être bilingue.

L'individu de culture française au Canada qui veut évoluer et s'épanouir dans le contexte nord-américain juge en général qu'il lui est nécessaire d'être bilingue.

L'effort qu'un citoyen canadien d'une autre culture doit fournir pour apprendre le Français ne peut se justifier que si cet effort doit lui rapporter un réel dividende personnel.

Si l'on veut le bilinguisme au Canada, il semble donc important d'accroître les éléments susceptibles d'intéresser un plus grand nombre d'individus de culture autre que française à devenir bilingues.

2 - RECOMMANDATIONS DU MEMOIRE

Certains éléments susceptibles d'intéresser un plus grand nombre de canadiens à devenir bilingues pourraient être:

- 1° Dans tous les services et institutions de l'administration fédérale comme dans toutes les sociétés de

Recommandations du mémoire...

la Couronne, qu'un pourcentage additionnel de salaire soit versé à tout employé bilingue, à tous les niveaux d'emploi.

- 2^o Dans les institutions tant publiques que privées, y compris les grands organes de communication, que des individus de langue française s'affirment en plus grand nombre dans tous les secteurs d'activité par des oeuvres constructives.
- 3^o Au niveau des provinces, que le domaine de l'éducation soit laissé à l'autonomie de chacune des provinces, mais que les octrois fédéraux en cette matière soient limités exclusivement à la promotion de l'enseignement de la langue seconde et à la diffusion de la culture seconde dans chaque province.

3 - CONCLUSIONS DU MEMOIRE

C'est à l'élément canadien de langue anglaise qu'il appartient surtout de juger le degré d'intérêt pour ses individus de coexister avec l'élément canadien de langue française, dans un pays biculturel et bilingue.

Cet intérêt au bilinguisme et biculturalisme chez l'individu de langue anglaise pourrait être accru si:

- 1^o La législation fédérale reconnaissait de fait la nécessité d'un état biculturel et bilingue.
- 2^o L'élément canadien de culture française déployait l'effort individuel nécessaire pour s'affirmer comme entité importante dans l'évolution du pays.
- 3^o Les provinces acceptaient que le rôle du fédéral en matière d'éducation se borne au domaine biculturel national.

4 - TEXTE DU MEMOIRE

La coexistence de deux cultures et de deux langues, dans un même cadre géographique, politique et économique, pose nécessairement un problème dans les communications nécessaires aux échanges et efforts communs.

Comme échanges et efforts communs impliquent un intérêt mutuel, la nécessité des communications devient fonction directe de l'intérêt que trouve chaque groupe chez l'autre, et en dernier ressort, les communications se font d'individu à individu.

Or puisque la meilleure communication individuelle est déjà très difficile dans des conditions idéales, elle peut se compliquer jusqu'à devenir impossible entre individus de culture et de langue différentes.

Pour un individu, le biculturalisme est une impossibilité; celui-ci pourra posséder un mélange de deux cultures, mais il aura toujours une prédominance d'une de ces cultures, à moins qu'une généralisation de ce mélange à tous les individus d'un groupe ne finisse par produire une nouvelle culture en soi. Par contre, chez un individu, le bilinguisme peut être obtenu, ce qui amoindrit la difficulté des communications, mais n'élimine pas la différence profonde des concepts, d'une culture à l'autre.

Donc, pour effectuer les communications entre deux cultures coexistantes, il est nécessaire d'avoir des individus bilingues et qui connaissent aussi bien que possible la culture qui n'est pas la leur.

Chez les individus de chaque groupe, qui donc deviendra bilingue? Probablement celui dont l'intérêt l'exigera, que cet intérêt soit à base de nécessité première ou de l'ordre d'une stricte satisfaction intellectuelle ou sociale.

L'application de ces prémisses à l'analyse des statistiques actuelles au Canada semblerait démontrer que:

Texte du mémoire...

1^o Dans une forte proportion, les Canadiens de culture française ont jugé de leur intérêt d'apprendre l'Anglais.

2^o Dans une faible proportion, les Canadiens de culture anglaise ont jugé de leur intérêt d'apprendre le Français.

Il est évident que les statistiques ne démontrent pas seulement le résultat de l'intérêt individuel conscient; un grand nombre d'autres facteurs entrent nécessairement en ligne de compte, tels que: milieu familial, facilités pour apprendre une langue seconde etc. etc.. Cependant, les statistiques confirment:

1^o La nécessité pratique pour la grande majorité des Canadiens de langue française d'apprendre l'Anglais.

2^o La nécessité pratique actuelle pour un nombre relativement restreint de Canadiens de langue anglaise d'apprendre le Français.

Qu'en théorie, la Constitution canadienne reconnaisse que chacun de ses citoyens puisse faire valoir ses droits dans une langue ou dans l'autre dans toutes les sphères d'activité d'un océan à l'autre, il demeure qu'en fait ceci n'est vrai à l'heure actuelle, que pour le citoyen de langue anglaise et n'existe que très partiellement pour le citoyen de langue française.

Depuis la Confédération, le pays n'a donc pas évolué sensiblement vers un état biculturel et bilingue.

Pour le citoyen canadien de culture française, il a été nécessaire jusqu'à présent, de devenir bilingue pour avoir des échanges avec ses compatriotes de langue anglaise et participer aux efforts communs du pays. Si son groupe culturel formait une entité politique autonome, il lui faudrait quand même connaître la langue anglaise pour réellement s'épanouir dans le contexte nord-américain.

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Pour que le citoyen canadien de culture autre que française juge nécessaire d'apprendre le Français, il lui faudrait être conscient que l'effort déployé à cet effet doit lui rapporter un dividende réel, sous quelque forme que ce soit.

Certains éléments susceptibles d'intéresser un plus grand nombre de Canadiens à devenir bilingues pourraient être comme suit:

- 1° Dans tous les services et institutions de l'administration fédérale comme dans toutes les sociétés de la Couronne, qu'un pourcentage additionnel de salaire soit versé à tout employé bilingue, à tous les niveaux d'emploi.
- 2° Dans les institutions tant publiques que privées, y compris les grands organes de communication, que des individus de langue française s'affirment en plus grand nombre dans tous les secteurs d'activité par des oeuvres constructives.
- 3° Au niveau des provinces, que le domaine de l'éducation soit laissé à l'autonomie de chacune des provinces, mais que les octrois fédéraux en cette matière soient limités exclusivement à la promotion de l'enseignement de la langue seconde et à la diffusion de la culture seconde dans chaque province.

Les suggestions ci-haut mentionnées exigent de la législation une reconnaissance factuelle de la nécessité d'un état bilingue et biculturel.

Elles exigent de l'élément français l'effort qui est essentiel à son affirmation en tant qu'entité importante à l'évolution du pays.

Elles exigent de plus que les provinces prennent conscience que le rôle du fédéral en matière d'éducation peut se borner au

Texte du mémoire...

domaine biculturel national et à rien d'autre.

A moins que l'élément canadien de langue anglaise ne trouve un intérêt réel à coexister avec l'élément canadien de langue française sur le sol canadien, il se pourrait que le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme au Canada ne se manifestent que sous la forme d'une division politique et sociale croissante entre les deux principaux groupes ethniques.

5 - REMARQUES

Le présent mémoire n'est que l'expression de quelques idées recueillies par l'auteur et présentées à la troisième personne pour fins de simplification du texte. Il est soumis comme humble contribution à la tâche géante de la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme, avec les meilleurs vœux de succès à la Commission.

Bien respectueusement,



Urbain Moreau, ing.p.

(Translation of)
Personal Brief
submitted to the
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by

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Trois Rivieres, P. Que.

1 - SUMMARY OF THE PREMISES

The exchanges between two different linguistic groups and the common efforts of these two groups present a problem of communication at the individual level.

The number of individuals of each group who will become bilingual is in terms of the personal advantage that each individual will derive from being bilingual.

The individual of French culture in Canada who wishes to advance and prosper in the North American context generally believes it is advisable for him to be bilingual.

The effort put forth by a Canadian citizen of a different culture to learn French can only be justified if this effort will return actual personal dividends to him.

If we wish bilingualism in Canada, it seems important to increase the elements liable to interest a larger number of individuals of culture other than French to become bilingual.

2 - RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BRIEF

Some elements likely to interest a larger number of Canadians to become bilingual could be:

- 1° In all the services and establishments of the federal administration as well as in all the Crown

Recommendations of the brief...

societies, an additional percentage of retribution could be payed to all bilingual employees at all levels.

2° In all public as well as private institutions, including the media of communication, more French speaking individuals should assert themselves in all fields of activity by constructive works.

3° At the provincial level, Education could be left to the autonomy of each province, but federal grants in this matter could be limited exclusively to the promotion of the teaching of the second language and the diffusion of the second culture in each province.

3 - CONCLUSIONS OF THE BRIEF

Above all, it rests with the English speaking Canadians to appraise the advantage for their individuals to coexist with the French speaking element in a bicultural and bilingual country.

This interest to bilingualism and biculturalism for the English speaking individual could be increased if:

1° The federal legislation would acknowledge in fact, the necessity of a bicultural and bilingual state.

2° The Canadian element of French culture would devote all the individual.. energies required to assert itself as an important entity in the development of the country.

3° The provinces would agree that the part of the federal government in educational matters could be confined to the bicultural national field.

4 - TEXT OF THE BRIEF

The coexistence of two cultures and two languages in the same geographical, political and economical land is bound to present a problem in the communications necessary to exchanges and common efforts.

As exchanges and common efforts imply a mutual interest, the necessity of communications is in terms of the interest that each group finds in the other, and in the last resort, the communications take place from one individual to the other.

Since the best individual communication is always very difficult to achieve even under ideal circumstances, it can become complicated to the point of being impossible between individuals of different culture and language.

For an individual, biculturalism is an impossibility; he can possess some elements of the two cultures, but one of these cultures will always prevail in him, unless a generalizing of mixed culture to all individuals of a group becomes a new culture in itself. On the other hand, for the individual, bilingualism is possible; this lessens the difficulty of communications, but does not eliminate the ultimate barrier of concepts from one culture to the other.

Therefore, to carry on the communications between two coexisting cultures, it is absolutely necessary to have bilingual individuals who possess a sound knowledge of the culture which is not theirs.

Among the individuals of each group, who therefore will be bilingual? Probably the ones whose best interest requires it, whether this interest is a primary necessity or whether it means a personal intellectual and social satisfaction.

The application of these premises to the analysis of the existing statistics in Canada would seem to prove that:

Text of the brief...

- 1° A large percentage of Canadians of French culture believe of their interest to learn English.
- 2° A small percentage of Canadians of English culture believe of their interest to learn French.

It is obvious that the statistics do not prove only the conscious individual interest; many other factors play a large part, such as family background, the aptitude to learn a second language etc. etc.. Still the statistics confirm:

- 1° The practical necessity for a large number of French speaking Canadians to learn English.
- 2° The existing practical necessity for a limited number of English speaking Canadians to learn French.

That theoretically the Canadian constitution acknowledges the privilege of all its citizens to enforce their rights in one language or another in all fields of activity from one ocean to the other, it still remains that if it is true at the present time for the English speaking citizen, it is only partly true for the French speaking citizen.

Therefore, since Confederation, the country has not sensibly developed into a bicultural and bilingual state.

For the citizen of French culture, it has been essential as yet to become bilingual in order to achieve exchanges with his English speaking fellow-citizens and to share in the common efforts of the country. If his cultural group formed a political self-governing entity, he would still have to know the English language to actually prosper in the North American context.

For the citizen of a culture other than French to deem it important to learn French, he would have to be conscious that the

Text of the brief...

effort devoted to this purpose will return actual dividends, one way or the other.

Some elements likely to interest a larger number of Canadians to become bilingual could be:

- 1° In all the services and establishments of the federal administration as well as in all the Crown societies, an additional percentage of retribution could be payed to all bilingual employees at all levels.
- 2° In all public as well as private institutions, including the media of communication, more French speaking individuals should assert themselves in all fields of activity by constructive works.
- 3° At the provincial level, Education could be left to the autonomy of each province, but federal grants in this matter could be limited exclusively to the promotion of the teaching of the second language and the diffusion of the second culture in each province.

The above mentioned suggestions require from the legislation an acknowledgement of the necessity of a bilingual and bicultural state.

They require from the French speaking element the effort essential to its assertion as an important entity in the development of the country.

They also require that the provinces realize that the part of the federal government in educational matters could confine itself to the bicultural national field only and to nothing else.

Unless the English speaking element finds real advantage

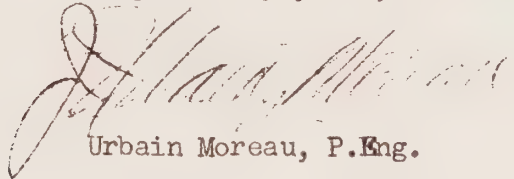
Text of the brief...

to coexist with the French speaking element on the Canadian soil, it could possibly be that biculturalism and bilingualism in Canada will turn out to mean a more pronounced split between our two main ethnic groups.

5 - REMARKS

The present brief is only the voicing of a few ideas gathered by the author and stated in the third person to simplify textual presentation. It is submitted as a small contribution to the giant task of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, with best wishes of success to the Commission.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Urbain Moreau', written in dark ink.

Urbain Moreau, P.Eng.

TITRE:

AUTEUR: Monsieur Urbain Moreau

Mémoire de 6 pages; 3 recommandations

REMARQUES DE L'ANALYSTE:

La pratique du bilinguisme est fonction de l'intérêt que chacun trouve à être bilingue. Cet intérêt doit être augmenté par des mesures concrètes, assurant une meilleure rémunération aux fonctionnaires bilingues. Les C.F. doivent aussi valoriser leur culture par des "oeuvres constructives".

A L'ATTENTION DE LA RECHERCHE:

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Mémoire #: 740-227

M. J. V. Moreau

QUEBEC

A. RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR L'INDIVIDU

Le mémoire est présenté à titre personnel par monsieur Moreau qui est directeur d'un bureau d'ingénieurs à Trois-Rivières.

B. QUESTIONS...

1. EN PROVENANCE DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES

1re recomm. Re Salaire additionnel aux employés
gouvernementaux bilingues

Q. 1 Que faut-il entendre par un employé
bilingue?

Cette mesure doit-elle devenir permanente
ou n'être que passagère?

3e recomm. Re octrois fédéraux à l'Education

Q. 2 Que veulent dire la "promotion de
l'enseignement de la langue seconde"
et "la diffusion de la culture seconde"?

Comment le fédéral peut-il réaliser ces
objectifs?

Pourquoi confier cette tâche au fédéral
plutôt qu'aux provinces?

C. SECTION DE LA RECHERCHE

1. QUESTIONS DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES A LA RECHERCHE

p.2
#30

Pourrait-on demander à M. Moreau si le
gouvernement fédéral devrait cesser son
aide aux Universités?

Division Arts & Culture

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SUBMISSION BY
THE MONTREAL STAR
TO THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM
AND BICULTURALISM.

The Montreal Star

MONTREAL, CANADA

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

September 3rd, 1964

The Secretaries,
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P. O. Box 1508,
Ottawa,
Ont.

Dear Sirs:

We take pleasure in sending you
herewith thirty copies of the brief submitted
to your Commission by The Montreal Star.

Yours faithfully,



John G. McConnell,
President and Publisher.



G. V. Ferguson,
Editor-in-Chief.

Encl.

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SUBMISSION BY
THE MONTREAL STAR
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ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM.

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1. The Montreal Star's reason for presenting this short brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is simply this: the English-speaking minority of Quebec has few spokesmen, and those that exist represent some specialized interest only. There is no organized "voice" of the minority such as exists in many other parts of Canada. It has occurred to us that The Montreal Star does, in a sense, represent a "community" voice, although we are well aware that our views represent nothing but ourselves.
2. We speak only for ourselves, but our position in the province is one which makes us assume a critical point of view, using that term in its broadest sense, in relation to both the English-speaking minority and the French-speaking majority. We are in the distinctive position of being a daily voice in a community which is a minority in the city and province which we serve, while, at the same time, we belong to the English-speaking majority in Canada as a whole.
3. For these reasons, The Montreal Star is concerned primarily with the interests, the rights and the responsibilities of the English-speaking minority in Montreal and Quebec, but no statement of the one can be complete without reference to the other. Secondly it is concerned with the formulation and execution of policies which will forward the position of Canada as a nation, bound together by ties which will persist in some form or other, through foreseeable time. No constitutional changes, not even a formal separation of English and French Canada, will ever sever completely those ties. Our hope is that they will be maintained in a fashion which will strengthen all the benefits, political, economic and cultural, which have been created

since this country became essentially bicultural and bilingual almost two centuries ago.

4. For a very long time these objectives were obscured by a whole series of facts which, doubtless, your research staff will do much to unravel and explain. There have been, in our view, many faults on both sides, and we believe the apportionment of blame, in this year of grace, has become a matter more for historians than for those who would like now to help Confederation set its feet on paths profitable for the future. We do not, in saying this, seek to avoid any place on an overcrowded penitent's bench. The plain fact is that, had Quebec asserted itself forty years ago, as it has done since 1960, many of the problems which now afflict Confederation as a whole would have been much more easily manageable and would have been long since regulated in Quebec's favor.

5. Forty years ago, the entry of American and English-Canadian capital was already in full swing. The gap between English-speaking management and a French-speaking proletariat in industry was richly manifest. The lack of communication between the two communities was already sadly established. In the circumstances, management did only what management always does all over the world in every society. It does only those things which will maximise profit; it leaves other problems to be solved when a solution is necessary to achieve this end.

6. Looking back at those far-off days, it is easy to point to this movement or that which contained the seeds of what has now come to flower. But, in practical terms, there was no movement which asserted itself strongly enough to present any threat to the established way of doing things. In the provincial political field, the successive administrations of Taschereau and Duplessis were complaisant and co-operative. In the federal field, the Quebec delegations hardly raised the question in any form. They were too busy fighting old battles, many of which had lost their significance, and too busy making sure that, in

the political sphere in which they represented a minority, they got fair shares out of policies approved by the majority.

7. This is perhaps the major reason why Quebec's English-speaking minority was generally surprised by the political explosions which followed almost immediately on the death of Maurice Duplessis in the autumn of 1959. The surprise can be explained only by reason of a serious failure in communication. For this the English language press of Quebec, including The Montreal Star, must accept a share of the blame. In extenuation it can be said that the failure was general through English Canada, and that the only medium of communication, supposedly established to avoid such a blunder, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, was at fault too. There was little attempt to explain "the new Quebec" which was, it is clear now, rising fast.

8. Thinking in English Canada - and in the English-speaking minority of Quebec also - concentrated mainly upon the only point at which the divergence of French and English Canada had become practical, immediate and painful. This was the issue of conscription, bound up with defence and foreign policy. Even this was obscured and smothered by the acceptance, in Quebec, of the obligations entailed in our signature of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. This was widely interpreted in English Canada as being the end of the controversy which had begun, and had dominated our politics, since 1917.

9. So far, this brief has dealt chiefly with the attitude of the English-speaking minority in Quebec Province. It is timely to say something about the aspirations and legitimate grievances of the French-speaking majority in Quebec. We at The Star are in a better position than some English Canadians to understand the grievances.

10. At the extreme fringe of opinion you will hear the upsurge in Quebec described as a national revolution, or an anti-colonial revolt.

Quebec has even been described as "the last exploited colony". We disagree deeply with these descriptions, while understanding why they were made. There are some purely surface resemblances between the Quebec situation and the true revolutionary situations which existed in other countries. The successful national revolutions of this century began in various ways but there is one factor constant to all of them - angry, often able, young men who felt that they were second class citizens in the country of their birth. It takes no reflection to realize how explosive this condition can be. It does exist in Quebec. It came about, however, not because of colonialism, but almost by historical accident. The two races who came together to make Confederation enjoyed a high degree of democracy by 19th century standards. Theirs was as free a choice as most of the choices made by peoples.

11. It was made, however, at a time, 1867, when North America was entering a period of industrial expansion. One of the founding races, the Anglo-Saxon, proved to be more adaptable to an age of industrial capitalism than the other. This was not purely because that race was related by blood to the metropolitan power which still exercised a kind of suzerainty over Canada, and spoke the same language as the growing republic next door. The ethic of the Anglo-Saxon, his ambitions and his training were better suited to this new phase of history. His prosperity grew and his ranks increased. His culture was able to assimilate the new immigrants more readily than the French culture. That culture had once enjoyed a formidable capacity to absorb the newcomer, as French Canadian family names along the lower St. Lawrence will attest. But by the late 19th century that culture had taken its stand inside a fortress of traditionalism; its values were inherited values, its élite chose inherited occupations; its sons entered the industrial age as members of the labor market, not, generally speaking, as leaders or entrepreneurs.

12. The imbalance which resulted, in which the Anglo-Saxon and his recruits, the Anglophones, were four-fifths of the Canadian population and

controlled a vast percentage of the wealth, even in Quebec, was not a true colonial situation. But it is not difficult to understand why it would seem so today to young French Canadians just leaving university. It is doubly certain to seem like an "exploited colonial" situation to them if in their pre-university years they have been nurtured on race myths, as many of them have.

13. This brief summary may go some way to explain some of the reasons for the attitude of the French-speaking majority and why, in the last four years, the English-speaking minority of Quebec has developed resentment about its present position in the province. It has become a target of abuse as the outward and visible symbol of the Anglo-American influence, economically and politically, although it is convinced that that influence is bound to continue in one form or another no matter what changes may occur in the country's confederative structure.

14. It finds that the growth of Quebec nationalism is such that whatever efforts it may make to repair its co-operative cultural failures in the past, it remains a suspect and foreign influence. It finds that its contacts with the French majority are deeply and adversely affected by the fact that the contacts it makes at once become suspect in the eyes of extreme Quebec nationalists. Under existing circumstances, the fact that a French Canadian achieves success in business or in industry is enough, in many cases, to make him regarded as a man who has sold out to "les Anglais".

15. This is one fact, another is that English-speaking families now fourth, fifth or sixth generation in Quebec, have also become under the pressures of this regional and racial nationalism, aliens in the only land which they know and which they love, where they have made their mark and where they want to continue to live. The fact that they may be bilingual counts for nothing. They are made to feel they represent an alien culture and, unjustly, an alien dominance, that they are strangers in their own land.

16. This quite naturally worries them. They are not all, by any means, directly representative of the Anglo-American economic pressures which do exist. The lunch pail is carried more often than the umbrella. But they do want to know whether, as a minority, they have any future in a Quebec which, they believe, becomes more and more narrowly nationalist. Can they look forward to a future as partners in a Quebec which is itself a willing partner in a broader Canada within some confederative framework? They don't know and they are worried. As they compose roughly speaking one-fifth of the population of Quebec - a minority equal to that which exists in Cyprus between the Greeks and the Turks - they want to know what their future is.

17. So far as the past goes, they rather ruefully admit that they have no complaints; the ruefulness is due to the obvious fact that they are only now realizing that they have been, by long odds, the best treated minority in Canada. They were given rights under the British North America Act which have been recognized both in the letter and in the spirit. Their rights have been indeed recognized even more fully than the letter of the law exacts.

18. This unfortunately bred not so much a sense of gratitude and comprehension but of complacency. They accepted what they had been given as of right, constitutionally established, and many of them believed, if even unconsciously, that, as members of the national majority, nothing would, or even could, affect them. This complacency led them further into a marked disinterest in politics which made changes, when they came, incomprehensible to them.

19. The failure indeed went further. Leaning psychologically upon their membership in the national majority, they were ready enough to believe that minorities had only very limited rights. A proof of this was the way in which, in the field of education, they accorded a bare minimum of rights to the Jewish community here which became a minority inside a Protestant community, itself a minority in Quebec. The educational clauses of the B.N.A. Act which in practice protect the

English-speaking minority do not deal with language but with religion. Protestant rights are protected, language rights are not.

20. Some recommendation by this Commission should deal with this question in order to establish equality; and also, if possible, to recognize that the problem of majority and minority in Quebec is no longer primarily a problem of Catholic and Protestant but of language and culture. There is, in 1964, something slightly absurd in the fact that Protestant education boards have to go abroad to find teachers of French in their schools because numerous eminently qualified bilingual teachers of French in Quebec - probably the best in the world - happen to be Catholics.

21. As a matter of record, the teaching of French in Quebec's Protestant schools has been sadly neglected. The educational assumption has apparently been that the pupils in Protestant schools will use English as the language of their later life, and that it is relatively unimportant whether they have an adequate working knowledge of French or not. This assumption, if it ever had validity, is valid no longer.

22. The language grievance, we fear, is one that can be alleviated but never entirely cured. Since English is the language of international business it is unlikely that any North American speaking a minority language only will ever get far in international business. All really big business today is to some extent international business.

23. But on other levels there is a lot of work to be done. It has been suggested already in this brief that the English minority in Quebec should set themselves to talk more French, even against obstacles. It is idiotic to expect a man of French culture in a French speaking city to leave his native language at home every day and only to take it up after office hours. This is a matter that can be solved partly by courtesy and good will, but these will need to be stimulated by corporation policy and repeated publicity. As far as the jobs are concerned: We have noted that big companies and government are anxious to recruit able young French

Canadians today. They are meeting with resistance. They must steel themselves to overcome this resistance; they must have the patience to put up with it.

24. We at The Star have argued in the past against quotas in top government jobs and other posts of leadership. It still seems to us that when you analyse a quota you find an insult at the core of it. So we are still against long-range quotas. But it may be in the immediate present that something that goes beyond quotas, something in the nature of conscious preferential hiring of trainees for top jobs may have to be resorted to, if today's imbalance is to be corrected.

25. If this were done successfully it would solve problems a generation hence. It has been said that company chairmen and presidents like to have men around them with whom they are at home on the golf course. There is probably some truth to this, and it has probably worked against the interests of French Canadians at the next to top level. If the chairman of the future is himself a French Canadian the social barrier disappears. To bring this about in many companies, it must be realized, will require self-denying discipline and calculated generosity for the next twenty or thirty years.

26. The grievances that can be banished absolutely also require self-denying discipline, but here the cures are obvious. A member of the French minority in the other provinces does not feel himself a stranger in those provinces, but a Quebecer does as soon as he crosses his own border. He is likely to feel himself a stranger and humiliated in the federal offices at Ottawa. This can be cured, and the cure is not to persuade 13 million Anglophones to learn and speak French. It is to see that acceptable French is spoken in certain key situations, and this is the task mainly of the great communications and transport companies, and the federal government. A travelling French Canadian with little or no English ought to be made to feel at home in any train or plane or hotel or telegraph office. He ought to be dealt with in his own language in federal government at every level and the higher the level the more fluent the French ought to be.

27. Extreme Quebec nationalists will indulge in mockery at this development. They will say it is "too little and too late". If that is too late, then the appointment of your Commission is also too late, and we should all pack up. Our belief is that there is, as Adam Smith remarked, "a deal of ruin in a nation," and that there does exist an excellent chance to repair the errors of the past.

28. The problem of the wider bilingualism is another matter. The other provinces, with the vague exception of New Brunswick, do not accord to their French-speaking minorities anything like the rights which the English-speaking minority enjoys in Quebec. When those rights were embodied in the B.N.A. Act, they reflected a situation entirely different from that of today. Not much exists now to re-create that 1867 situation. There have been indeed, various problems which have arisen since - notably the controversy known to history as the Manitoba Schools Question - which render virtually impossible politically any acceptance of the 1867 solution in Quebec outside this province.

29. What to do? From both the French and the English sides of this debate have come proposals that education of French minorities in the predominantly English-speaking provinces should, by constitutional amendment, become the responsibility of the federal government. This is both a cumbersome and a costly solution, but the more it is considered, the more it appears to be the only available answer to the question raised many years ago by Henri Bourassa: how to get French Canadians out of the "reserve" in which, to all intents and purposes, they now exist. How else will it be possible to provide adequate teaching with French the language of instruction, in any other way? This solution deserves serious consideration by your Commission, which doubtless is also considering the equally costly, equally cumbersome but equally essential proposal that the federal civil service, in every sensitive respect, should be bilingual.

30. But if French is to be adequately recognized, we suggest also a strict proviso against multilingualism. The rights of French and English are historic, embedded in our national tradition. But to give

similar recognition to other minority ethnic groups would be, in our judgment, to destroy that basic degree of homogeneity essential to our future. We must be bilingual, just as we are necessarily bicultural. But it should be made clear to newcomers arriving in Canada that their choice of language and of the culture probably to be acquired by their children must be that of one of the two confederative founding groups. The newcomer can, on arrival or shortly thereafter, choose to belong either to the English or to the French side.

31. It would be in our judgment, however, a grave mistake to provide special linguistic, legal and constitutional privileges to other racial minorities. It may well be true that, in the three prairie provinces for example, the proportion of Ukrainian, German and Polish minorities is greater than that of the French minorities in those provinces. This seems to us a matter of small concern. Almost all of them, in their origins as immigrants, chose the English side. They have all made a great contribution to it and have deepened and enriched English Canadian culture. To deliberately splinter them now by providing six or eight languages of instruction, for instance, instead of two, would be to destroy, or to delay the emergence of, any real Canadianism. We can, for historical and traditional reasons, create a bicultural state. We should not deliberately set ourselves to the construction of a Tower of Babel.

32. What we have written up to now will, we hope, convince the Commission that The Montreal Star is well disposed toward, indeed is strongly in favor of, the great, basic reform movement initiated by the Lesage Government in 1960. We are on record as having supported as strongly as we could such measures as those embodied in the new Education Act, the new Labor Code, hospital insurance, the projects for the complete nationalization of power, the reform of the civil code (now in its first stages). We believe this whole movement to be not only healthy and beneficial but essential for the future of Quebec and of Canada as a whole.

33. It would be, however, dishonest not to make clear our disquiet and apprehension over some other aspects of "the quiet revolution". Not all its manifestations are as obviously good as those mentioned in our last paragraph. The slogan "Maitres Chez Nous" is capable of widely differing interpretations. In some minds it declares itself in the form of a narrow chauvinism which we deplore. The most extreme form of this is, of course, the violent wing of the separatist movement. There are gradations of the Quebec nationalist movement, in towards the centre and even towards the moderate right.

34. These more moderate views are expressed in various forms: a demand for sweeping constitutional amendment, for the status of an "associate state" and so on. New constitutions have indeed become a dime a dozen, but all of them represent on paper so great a limitation on federal jurisdiction and power that we have been driven to the conclusion that honest separation would be a better solution, if solution it can be called.

35. The confederative Canada we know, the Canada which has won prestige abroad and a high standard of living at home - with the sure prospect of still higher material standards in the future - has not been the creation of its separate parts, but of the country as a whole, its ten provinces operating from coast to coast with a strong central government as its foundation stone. This is plain fact. To disrupt it, or to weaken it fatally, would be virtually to destroy what has been built up for more than a century. Of this there appears to be little perception in Quebec, whose countless unofficial spokesmen appear to regard it as quite unimportant.

36. We believe otherwise. It is our conviction that whatever we have in Canada, politically and economically, flows from the strength which the union of 1867 of the old British colonies provided. That form of union was, as events amply prove, not adequate to the needs of an awakened and virile Quebec. Nor did the Fathers of Confederation foresee that the powers allotted to the provinces would require anything like the amount of revenue to provide them once the welfare state had developed.

37. At the same time it is equally true that the demand heard from time to time in Quebec that all direct taxes should be handed over to the provinces as of right has no basis either in constitutional law or in equity. The constitutional case is clear enough. Although the provinces have the right to levy direct taxation only, the powers of taxation of the central government are unlimited. There is therefore no way out of this overlapping save by double taxation or by tax-sharing - the formula which since 1941 has held the field.

38. But much more important is the fact that the taxes levied in Quebec, both federal and provincial, are the fruits of a national economy, nationally maintained. The customs duties levied in the ports of Quebec and Montreal are not levied on goods consigned for Quebec consumption alone. They are levied on goods destined for sale in all the provinces. The corporation and income taxes levied in Quebec are not the result alone of the active economy of Quebec, but of the whole of Canada. The giant corporations which, for historical or fortuitous reasons, have their head offices in Quebec, do not operate in Quebec alone. Their money is made from coast to coast or abroad. The sales taxes levied at the manufacturing level are levied on goods produced not wholly for sale in Quebec but in the other provinces as well.

39. These revenues do not, therefore, belong to Quebec but to a confederated Canada with its ten provinces. Much of that revenue, were the political climate such as to make a move necessary, would shift in a matter of weeks to headquarters elsewhere. Nor is there anything to prevent discriminatory tariffs against Quebec if, in the event of separation, it suited English Canadian interests to do so. This is most apparent in the case of tariffs, but corporations and their Quebec-based executives could take equivalent measures to avoid double taxation if this were to prove profitable to them. It would be a gross fallacy to believe that such considerations are not now being seriously, if privately, discussed.

40. Our view is that tax-sharing remains the only equitable method of providing the Canadian people as a whole with the services which they, including the people of Quebec, will increasingly demand. It may not be enough to satisfy the extremist proponents of "Maitres Chez Nous". Any serious demand for basic change would, however, evoke a reaction in English Canada of the most serious proportions. The answer is the historic Canadian answer of compromise which means that nobody is happy beyond the fact that everybody would dislike the alternatives more.

41. We are, for these reasons, opposed to the present wave of constitution-making in Quebec. It is, as was remarked by the Committee for Political Realism, largely a waste of time. We have various, well-proved constitutional instruments, some of which have been well used and some of which have been either mis-used or distorted. We should continue to apply and to test the process familiar to us, making formal changes in fundamental law only when some practical and essential, if limited, purpose cannot be served in any other way.

42. In passing, let us note briefly the dichotomy involved in the demands of Quebec spokesmen inside the province with the aspirations of the substantial French minority outside Quebec. At their face value the constitution-makers in Quebec are making plans which condemn their compatriots outside the province to the dangers of ruthless assimilation. Extreme solutions in Quebec itself would gravely diminish the prospect of accommodation in the other provinces. It may be possible that "the" extreme solution would not be met by armed force from English Canada. It would undoubtedly be met by a political hostility that would give small quarter and no concessions.

43. It is a belief widely expressed in Quebec that English Canada is waiting only for a happy opportunity to throw itself into the arms of the United States. This is a basic mis-reading not only of history but of the present temper of English Canada. If Quebec's strength lies in its own indigenous form of nationalism, English Canada's strength lies in its own indigenous form of nationalism, English Canada's strength lies in its determination to remain separate and distinct from the United States.

44. Were Quebec, either by secession or by successfully creating a weak central government, to find itself virtually alone, it would face, in our view, a situation to which little serious attention has been paid. The constant factor in Canadian politics, the factor which remains through good times and bad, is the continuous pressure of the United States, open and avowed, secret or covert, no matter. This pressure will remain, in precisely the same form, whether Canada is united or separate, weak or strong, whether it speaks with one voice or with two. United we obviously do better than if our neighbor can play one part of Canada against another. Separated, we speak with two voices, and each one is weakened to that extent. Our hope is that the conclusions of your Commission will be such as to strengthen the union both externally and internally, so that our two languages and our two cultures can flourish together.

45. We have obviously departed from the strict terms of bilingualism and biculturalism. Nevertheless we believe that the necessary new order of affairs in our country will rest fundamentally upon political acts of compromise, similar to those which brought about the conferences of 1864 and the British North America Act. We have therefore ventured on some purely political considerations which, as it seems to us, set both limits and guiding lines for the progress we hope for.

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Mémoire 740.261
soumis par
The Montreal Star
à la
Commission Royale sur le
Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme

The Montreal Star

MONTREAL, CANADA

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

September 3rd, 1964

The Secretaries,
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P. O. Box 1508,
Ottawa,
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Yours faithfully,



John G. McConnell,
President and Publisher.



G. V. Ferguson,
Editor-in-Chief.

Encl.

MEMOIRE

soumis par

THE MONTREAL STAR

à la

COMMISSION ROYALE SUR LE

BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

1. La principale raison pour laquelle "The Montreal Star" présente ce mémoire à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme est bien simple: les gens d'expression anglaise dans la province de Québec forment une minorité et possèdent peu de porte-parole et ceux qui existent représentent des intérêts très spécialisés. Il n'y a aucune "voix" organisée pour exprimer la pensée de cette minorité comme il en existe dans plusieurs autres parties du Canada. "The Montreal Star" représente en un sens la voix d'une communauté précise, même si nous sommes parfaitement conscients que nos opinions ne reflètent qu'une pensée personnelle.

2. Nous parlons uniquement en notre nom, mais notre place dans la province nous fait assumer dans son sens le plus large le devoir de la critique relativement aux rapports entre la minorité d'expression anglaise et la majorité d'expression française. Nous sommes une voix quotidienne dans une communauté minoritaire dans la ville et la province que nous servons, tout en appartenant à la majorité d'expression anglaise qui prévaut dans le pays tout entier.

3. Pour toutes ces raisons, "The Montreal Star" est premièrement confronté avec les intérêts, les droits et les responsabilités de la minorité d'expression anglaise de Montréal et du Québec, mais aucune déclaration ne peut se faire sans qu'il s'établisse une corrélation précise entre les deux fiefs. Deuxièmement, notre journal s'occupe de l'élaboration et de l'exécution de la politique qui déterminera la position du Canada comme

nation, limitée par un assujettissement qui persistera sous une forme ou sous une autre pendant un temps indéfini. Aucun changement constitutionnel, ni même la séparation du Canada français et du Canada anglais, ne détruiront complètement ces liens. Nous espérons qu'ils seront maintenus de façon à ce qu'ils se renforçassent pour le plus grand bien politique, économique et culturel, qui est d'ailleurs notre partage depuis que notre pays est devenu, il y a deux siècles, dans son essence même bilingue et biculturel.

4. Pendant longtemps ces objectifs ont été obscurcis par une série de facteurs que vos chercheurs et vos spécialistes s'attardent sans aucun doute à démêler et à expliquer. A notre avis, il y a eu des lacunes des deux côtés, et nous croyons que le départage des blâmes en ces temps de grâce est plus du domaine des historiens que de ceux qui travaillent à repenser la Confédération. En disant cela, nous ne voulons aucunement éviter d'avoir notre place dans la loge déjà bien remplie des responsables de cet état de choses. La réalité est que, si le Québec s'était affirmé il y a quarante ans, avec la même vigueur qu'il le fait depuis 1960, bien des problèmes qui affectent présentement l'ensemble de la Confédération auraient pu être facilement réglés en sa faveur.

5. En effet, il y a quarante ans, les relations entre Washington et Ottawa étaient déjà en plein essor. Dans l'industrie, un gouffre séparait les cadres, composés d'hommes d'expression anglaise, des petits

prolétaires, recrutés en masse chez les Canadiens français. L'absence de communication entre les deux groupes était déjà tristement établie. Dans ces circonstances, la direction a fait seulement ce que toutes les directions du monde font dans toutes les sociétés: elle ne pensa qu'aux profits maximums, en ignorant les autres problèmes, sauf quand une solution immédiate s'imposait pour arriver à leurs fins.

6. En analysant ces faits, il est facile de constater qu'ils contenaient déjà les germes d'une situation de fait qui allait s'aggraver par la suite. Dès ce moment, il n'y eut aucun groupe ou mouvement assez revendicateur pour empêcher que les choses se passent ainsi. Les régimes administratifs successifs de Taschereau et de Duplessis étaient complaisants et de connivence. Au fédéral, les députés québécois ne soulevèrent la question que dans de très rares occasions. Ils étaient trop occupés à livrer de vieilles batailles dont plusieurs d'entre elles avaient déjà perdu leur signification véritable, et trop absorbés aussi à mener leur vie politique au sein d'un groupe majoritaire à Ottawa et à manoeuvrer de façon à ce que les problèmes de leurs électeurs ne dérangent pas le groupe majoritaire du Canada.

7. Voilà qui explique sans doute la réaction de la minorité d'expression anglaise du Québec, sa surprise devant l'attitude explosive des Canadiens-français, attitude qui a suivi presque immédiatement la mort de Maurice Duplessis à l'automne de 1959. Cette surprise s'explique uniquement par une absence très grave de communication. La presse

anglaise du Québec, y compris "The Montreal Star", doit accepter sa part de blâme. Disons pour atténuer quelque peu notre culpabilité que ce silence était général à travers tout le Canada anglais et que le seul médium d'information établi supposément pour éviter une telle maladresse - la Société Radio Canada - doit prendre sa part de culpabilité également. Il y eut très peu d'efforts de faits pour expliquer aux Canadiens "le nouveau Québec" qui manifestait très rapidement son désir de se libérer de l'ostracisme qui avait peser sur lui.

8. La pensée du Canada anglais - et de la minorité d'expression anglaise du Québec - se concentra principalement sur la cause de la divergence qui opposait les deux groupes: la conscription imposée par les besoins de la défense nationale et de la politique étrangère. Même cela fut atténué et adouci par l'acceptation du Québec et l'engagement qui allait amener notre signature au Traité de l'Atlantique nord, en 1949. Cela fut interprété dans le milieu anglo-canadien comme la fin de la controverse qui avait commencé en 1917 et qui allait dominé notre politique.

9. Jusqu'à maintenant ce mémoire s'est attardé principalement à décrire l'attitude de la minorité d'expression anglaise de la province de Québec. Il est temps maintenant de décrire les aspirations et les légitimes griefs de la majorité d'expression française. Nous sommes particulièrement bien placés, au Montreal Star, beaucoup mieux que la plupart des anglo-canadiens, pour comprendre ces griefs.

10. Les extrémistes nous apprennent que l'activité bourdonnante au Québec est une révolution nationale, ou une révolte anti-colonialiste. Québec a été décrit comme étant "la dernière colonie exploitée". Nous ne sommes pas du tout d'accord avec ces descriptions extrêmes, tout en comprenant parfaitement pourquoi elles ont été formulées. Il n'y a qu'une très faible ressemblance entre la situation au Québec et les révoltes véritables qui ont existé dans d'autres pays en quête de leur indépendance. Les révolutions nationales qui ont éclaté dans divers coins du monde depuis le début du siècle sont faites différemment mais il y avait à la base un facteur commun à tous, la colère, l'exaspération des jeunes, fatigués d'être traités en citoyens de seconde zone dans leur pays d'origine. On comprend aisément combien cette condition peut être pénible et combien la révolte d'un peuple opprimé peut être explosive. Cela existe à l'heure actuelle au Québec. Non pas à cause du colonialisme mais par accident historique. Les deux races qui ont pensé la Confédération étaient douées d'un sens très marqué de la démocratie, selon les standards du 19e siècle. Ce fut un choix fait librement comme ceux qui sont faits par tous les peuples.

11. Ce choix fut fait à une époque - 1867 - où l'Amérique du nord entrait dans une ère d'expansion économique et industrielle. Une des nations fondatrices, la race anglo-saxonne, prouva qu'elle était mieux adaptée et mieux préparée à épouser le régime capitaliste que ne l'était l'autre. Cela n'est pas une pure coïncidence et non pas seulement parce

que les Anglo-Saxons avaient des liens sentimentaux avec les Etats-Unis qui continuaient d'exercer une sorte de suzeraineté au Canada, et qu'ils parlaient la même langue que leurs voisins du Sud. L'Anglo-Saxon avait une morale, des ambitions et une formation plus appropriées pour s'adapter à cette nouvelle phase de l'histoire. Sa prospérité s'accrut et il accéda au poste supérieur. Il était déjà prêt à assimiler les immigrants, beaucoup plus que ne l'était la race française. Cette dernière avait déjà prouvé une capacité formidable d'absorption des nouveaux venus, comme l'attestent tous les noms de familles canadiennes-françaises qui peuplent le bas St-Laurent. Mais à la fin du 19^e siècle, cette culture reposait sur les traditions, des valeurs sentimentales, sur l'héritage de leurs ancêtres, son élite choisit les mêmes occupations, les fils entrèrent dans le monde industriel comme ouvriers et non pas, dans la grande majorité des cas, comme chefs d'entreprises.

12. Il se produisit alors un déséquilibre démographique: les Anglo-Saxons et leurs recrues, les anglophones, formaient les quatre-cinquième de la population du Canada et contrôlaient presque toutes les richesses du pays, même celles du Québec. Cela, on le voit, ne peut se comparer d'aucune manière à la situation des colonisés. Mais il n'est pas difficile de comprendre pourquoi cela apparaît ainsi aux jeunes universitaires canadiens-français. Il apparaît certain que cette expression "colonie exploitée" leur vient spontanément à l'esprit, si dans leur jeunesse ils ont nourri des mythes sur les races, comme leurs ancêtres l'ont fait.

13. Ce mémoire a jusqu'ici essayé d'expliquer les raisons de l'attitude de la majorité d'expression française et pourquoi, dans les quatre dernières années, la minorité d'expression anglaise a nourri du ressentiment à l'endroit de sa position actuelle dans la province. Elle est devenue la cible de choix qui concrétise le symbole visible de l'influence anglo-américaine sur le plan économique et politique, même si on sait très bien que cette influence est limitée et qu'elle continuera de s'exercer, indépendamment des changements ou des réformes qui peuvent survenir dans les structures de la Confédération.

14. Nous avons compris que le climat de nationalisme qui règne au Québec est tel que malgré les efforts qui peuvent être faits pour obvier aux erreurs qui se sont faits dans le passé, nous demeurons, aux yeux des nationalistes, suspects et mandataires d'une influence étrangère. Les anglophones constatent dans leurs rapports avec les Canadiens-français que ces derniers sont profondément hostiles. Ces contacts sont jugés suspects à priori. Dans ces circonstances, le Canadien-français qui réussit en affaires ou qui occupe un poste de commande dans une industrie est tout de suite jugé dans bien des cas comme un homme qui a été vendu aux Anglais.

15. Un autre facteur vient s'ajouter à ce ressentiment. Les anglophones du Québec ont maintenant des souches profondes. Ils viennent de la quatrième, cinquième et sixième génération et sont devenus soudainement victimes de pressions dans ce climat de nationalisme

régional et racial, étrangers dans leur propre patelin qu'ils ont appris à connaître et aimer, où ils ont fait leur marque et où ils veulent continuer à vivre. Le fait qu'ils devraient être bilingues ne compte pour rien. Ils se sont fait à l'idée qu'ils représentent une culture étrangère et, injustement, une domination étrangère.

16. Naturellement, cette situation n'est pas sans les inquiéter. Ils ne sont en aucune façon directement tributaires de pressions d'une économie anglo-américaine qui existe vraiment. Ils sont beaucoup plus familiers avec la boîte à lunch qu'avec le parapluie. Mais ils veulent savoir si, en tant que minorité, ils ont un avenir dans le Québec qui, selon eux, est devenu de plus en plus d'un nationalisme étroit. Peuvent-ils entrevoir l'avenir comme partenaires dans un Québec qui est lui-même partenaire des autres provinces dans le cadre de la Confédération. Ils ne le savent pas et cette ignorance les inquiète. Comme ils forment environ le cinquième de la population du Québec - une minorité équivalente à celle qui existe à Chypre entre les Grecs et les Turcs - ils désirent ardemment connaître quel sera leur avenir.

17. Les anglophones ont toujours admis dans le passé qu'ils n'avaient aucune plainte à formuler quant au traitement qu'ils reçoivent dans la province de Québec; si maintenant ils sont inquiets, amers et tristes, cela est dû au fait qu'ils constatent, à la lumière de nombreux exemples, qu'ils sont la minorité la mieux traitée dans tout le Canada. L'Acte de

l'Amérique britannique du nord reconnaît leurs droits, dans l'esprit et la lettre. Leurs droits ont même déjà été reconnus au-delà de ce que la lettre de la loi précise.

18. Cette situation a fait naître un sentiment de suffisance plutôt qu'un sentiment de gratitude et de compréhension. Les anglophones acceptent d'emblée leurs droits, constitutionnellement établis, et plusieurs d'entre eux croient, même inconsciemment, qu'à titre de membres de la majorité nationale, rien ne peut ou pourrait les affecter. Cette suffisance les conduit à un désintéressement visible à l'endroit de la politique. Et quand on parle de changements, de nouvelles mesures à appliquer en toute justice, ils n'y comprennent rien.

19. Cette suffisance va même plus loin. S'appuyant sur le contexte psychologique de la force du nombre, ils sont tous prêts à croire que les minorités n'ont que des droits limités. A preuve, les droits minimum qu'ils accordent en éducation à la communauté juive, elle-même une minorité dans la communauté protestante, elle-même minoritaire au Québec. Les clauses éducatives de l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du nord qui protègent la minorité d'expression anglaise ne concernent pas la langue mais la religion: les droits des protestants sont protégés, les droits de la langue ne le sont pas.

20. Nous suggérons à la Commission d'insister pour que ce problème soit définitivement réglé afin d'en arriver à l'égalité; nous estimons également qu'il serait bon de reconnaître que le problème de la majorité et de

la minorité au Québec n'est plus une affaire de religion, entre catholiques et protestants, mais une question de langue et de culture. Il est absolument absurde qu'en 1964 les protestants aillent chercher des professeurs de français en Europe parce que les professeurs qualifiés du Québec - sans doute les meilleurs qui soient - sont de foi catholique.

21. En ce qui concerne l'éducation, l'enseignement du français dans les écoles protestantes du Québec est tristement négligé. L'excuse vient apparemment du fait que les étudiants des écoles protestantes emploieront l'anglais dans leur vie professionnelle et qu'il est relativement très peu important de connaître le français. Cette arrogance, si jamais elle fut justifiée, doit disparaître.

22. Nous craignons que la difficulté de la langue en est une qui peut certainement s'atténuer mais jamais être totalement surmontée. L'anglais est la langue internationale des affaires et il est peu probable qu'un Nord-américain parlant la langue d'un groupe minoritaire puisse aller bien loin dans le monde des affaires. Toute entreprise d'importance aujourd'hui est considérée comme une entreprise internationale.

23. D'autre part, beaucoup de travail peut être fait pour améliorer la situation. Nous avons déjà suggéré dans ce mémoire que la minorité anglaise au Québec pourrait apprendre le français et le parler en toute occasion, même si au début cela leur apparaît difficile. Il est vraiment inadmissible qu'un Canadien-français dans une ville française doive chaque

jour abandonner sa langue maternelle aussitôt qu'il a quitté sa maison pour entrer à son bureau. Cela pourrait disparaître si d'un commun accord les anglais manifestaient de la bonne volonté et de la courtoisie. Ils auront besoin d'être constamment stimulés par les gouvernants et une intense publicité. En ce qui a trait au monde du travail, nous avons constaté que les grosses entreprises et le gouvernement sont de plus en plus intéressés à embaucher des jeunes Canadiens-français compétents. Le recrutement est peut-être difficile mais ces corps publics devront s'armer pour surmonter cette difficulté et avoir la patience de relever le défi.

24. Nous, du "Star", nous nous sommes élevés dans le passé contre les contingentements aux postes supérieurs de l'administration publique et aux autres postes de commande. Il nous a toujours paru lorsqu'on fait l'analyse de restrictions du genre qu'on y trouve toujours une insulte à la base. Nous demeurons donc opposés aux contingentements à longue portée. Il n'en reste pas moins que, dans l'immédiat, il faudra peut-être corriger le présent déséquilibre, appliquer une formule qui dépasserait celle du contingentement, une formule qui se baserait par exemple sur l'embauchage d'une certaine catégorie d'employés pour les entraîner à occuper des postes supérieurs.

25. Si ceci était accompli avec succès, des problèmes qui pourraient surgir dans une génération d'ici en serait évité. On a déjà dit que les présidents de compagnies aiment voir autour d'eux des hommes avec lesquels

ils sont à l'aise sur des parcours de golf. Il y a sans doute du vrai là-dedans et cela a probablement nui à l'avancement des Canadiens-français aux postes qui suivent immédiatement l'échelon supérieur. Si le futur président était Canadien-français, cette barrière sociale disparaîtrait. Pour que ceci puisse se faire dans un grand nombre de compagnies, il faut bien l'admettre, il faudra beaucoup d'abnégation et de générosité pour les prochaines vingt ou trente années.

26. Les autres reproches mutuels que l'on se fait pourraient également être abolis et là encore l'altruisme sera nécessaire car les remèdes sont évidents. Partout au Canada le Canadien-français devrait se sentir chez lui. Le Québécois se sent un parfait étranger aussitôt qu'il traverse dans une autre province. C'est ce sentiment humiliant qui l'anime dans les bureaux du gouvernement à Ottawa. Cela pourrait certainement se réparer et le remède n'est pas de persuader 13 millions d'anglophones d'apprendre à parler français, mais de voir à ce que le français soit parlé dans des endroits-clés. Cela devrait être le devoir de tous ceux qui occupent ces postes dans les moyens de communication, les compagnies de transport et au gouvernement fédéral. Un Canadien-français qui ne connaîtrait que quelques mots d'anglais a le droit de se sentir chez lui dans un train, un avion, un hôtel, au bureau de télégraphie. Il a le droit d'exiger qu'on lui réponde et qu'on le serve dans sa langue dans tous les bureaux du gouvernement et à tous les niveaux de la fonction publique. Et plus ce niveau est élevé, plus le français doit être bon.

27. Ces propositions vont faire sourire les nationalistes québécois. Ils diront: c'est trop peu et trop tard. Si c'est trop tard, et bien, la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme vient elle aussi trop tard, et nous devrions alors démissionner tous ensemble. Mais nous croyons fermement comme le faisait remarquer Adam Smith qu'il y a toujours "un risque de ruine dans une nation" et que dans ce risque existe une excellente chance de réparer les erreurs du passé.

28. Le problème d'un bilinguisme accru est une autre question. Les autres provinces, à l'exception du Nouveau Brunswick, n'accordent pas aux minorités d'expression française les droits et privilèges dont bénéficie la minorité anglophone au Québec. Quand ces droits ont été définis dans l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du nord, ils reflétaient une situation précise qui a complètement changé depuis. Rien n'a été fait depuis 1867 pour repenser la situation, à l'exception peut-être de ce qui a été fait à la suite de la controverse historique suscitée par la question des écoles au Manitoba.

29. Qu'est-ce à dire? Des deux côtés, français et anglais, on a proposé que l'éducation des minorités d'expression française dans les provinces à domination anglophone, par un amendement constitutionnel, devienne la responsabilité du gouvernement fédéral. Cela serait une solution onéreuse et malaisée, mais plus on analyse le problème, plus cette solution nous apparaît acceptable. Le problème fut soulevé jadis par Henri Bourassa: comment, demandait-il, sortir les Canadiens-

français de leur "réserve"? Comment faire autrement pour leur dispenser l'enseignement auquel ils ont droit, dans leur langue maternelle?

La réponse que nous vous suggérons mérite une sérieuse attention de votre part, Messieurs les Commissaires. Vous devrez également vous pencher sur le problème des services fédéraux bilingues, quel qu'en soit le coût, quels qu'en soient les inconvénients.

30. Et si le français allait être revalorisé, nous suggérons aussi que vous vous prononciez contre le multilinguisme. Les droits des Canadiens-français et anglais sont historiques, scellés par le passé. Accorder délibérément des droits similaires aux autres minorités ethniques pourrait, selon nous, détruire à la base l'homogénéité essentielle à notre progrès et à notre avenir. Nous devons être bilingues comme nous bénéficierons nécessairement de deux cultures. Il serait de bon ton que cette situation soit clairement expliquée aux immigrants et les avertir qu'ils devront faire un choix en arrivant au Canada: le choix que leurs enfants acquerront la culture d'un des deux groupes qui forment la Confédération. L'immigrant pourra, à son arrivée ou peu de temps après, choisir d'appartenir au groupe anglais ou au groupe français.

31. Ce serait néanmoins une grave erreur de reconnaître ces mêmes privilèges linguistiques, égaux et constitutionnels aux autres minorités. Cela peut fort bien être le cas dans les Prairies par exemple où la proportion d'Ukrainiens, d'Allemands et de Polonais est plus forte que la

minorité française des autres provinces. Cela ne peut intervenir dans le débat. La plupart d'entre eux choisissent de s'assimiler au groupe anglais. Ils ont déjà enrichi la culture anglo-canadienne et contribuent grandement à améliorer cette culture. Leur donner toutes les facilités de recevoir l'enseignement dans leur langue, ce qui veut dire six ou huit langues différentes, pourrait retarder longtemps la conquête d'un canadianisme authentique. Nous pouvons certainement, pour des motifs historiques et sentimentaux, créer une nation bilingue et biculturelle. Nous ne devons pas nous engager délibérément dans la construction d'une tour de Babel.

32. Ce que nous avons démontré jusqu'à maintenant dans ce mémoire réussit à vous convaincre Messieurs les Commissaires, du moins nous osons l'espérer, que "The Montreal Star" est bien disposé, sinon fortement en faveur des réformes que le gouvernement Lesage a entrepris depuis 1960. On se souviendra que nous avons fortement appuyer la création d'un ministère de l'Education, le nouveau Code du travail, l'assurance-hospitalisation, la nationalisation de l'électricité, la réforme du Code civil (dans sa première partie). Nous croyons fermement que ce mouvement de progrès n'est pas uniquement bienfaisant pour l'avenir de la province de Québec mais pour l'avenir du Canada tout entier.

33. Il serait malhonnête cependant de dissimuler notre inquiétude et notre appréhension à l'endroit de certains autres aspects de ce que

l'on appelle la "révolution tranquille". Ses manifestations ne sont pas toutes aussi bonnes que celles que nous venons de mentionner dans le paragraphe précédent. Le slogan "maîtres chez nous" peut s'interpréter de différentes façons. Pour certains esprits, il signifie une forme de chauvinisme étroit que nous déplorons. L'exemple le plus inquiétant de ce chauvinisme nous est fourni par les actes de violence d'une certaine aile québécoise du mouvement séparatiste. Il y a des degrés dans le nationalisme québécois, vers le centre et même vers la droite modérée.

34. L'opinion des nationalistes modérés est exprimée dans différents termes: amender la constitution rapidement, créer un "état associé", etc. Les nouvelles constitutions proposées représentent une si grande limitation au fédérale et de son pouvoir que nous en sommes venus à la conclusion qu'il valait mieux, le cas échéant, nous séparer, si on peut appeler cela une solution.

35. Le Canada confédératif que nous connaissons, le Canada qui jouit d'un prestige grandissant partout dans le monde et qui a un important standard de vie - avec l'assurance que ce niveau de vie s'améliorera encore - n'a pas été le résultat du travail de deux groupes ethniques isolés mais celui d'un pays tout entier, de ces dix provinces vivant et respirant très à l'aise avec l'aide d'un gouvernement central comme point d'appui. Ceci est très simple. Démembrer la Confédération ou l'affaiblir serait fatal et détruirait éventuellement ce qui a été construit depuis près d'un siècle. Le Québec considère très peu les conséquences

désastreuses de cette rupture, car une quantité de porte-parole non officiels estiment ce point de vue comme étant très peu important.

36. Nous avons la profonde conviction que tout ce que nous possédons au Canada sur le plan politique et économique, nous vient de la force qu'a donnée à notre pays l'union, en 1867, des anciennes colonies britanniques. Cette forme d'union fut, comme les évènements le prouvent, abondamment inadéquate aux besoins d'un Québec virile et en plein essor. Les Pères de la Confédération eux-mêmes n'avaient pas prévu que les pouvoirs attribués aux provinces requerraient des revenus aussi élevés que ceux qui sont nécessaires dans un état qui s'occupe du bien-être de tous les citoyens.

37. Il est d'autre part également vrai que la requête que formule de temps à autre le Québec pour que le produit des taxes directes lui soit entièrement remis n'a aucun fondement, ni en droit constitutionnel ni en stricte équité. La constitution est assez claire sur ce point. Même si les provinces ont le droit de percevoir une taxe directe seulement, les pouvoirs de taxation du gouvernement central sont illimités. Il n'y a donc rien qui puisse nous permettre de nous soustraire à cette situation, sauf la double taxation ou le partage des impôts, selon la formule qui est en vigueur depuis 1941.

38. Mais ce qui est encore plus important, c'est le fait que les taxes perçues au Québec, tant par les autorités fédérales que par les

autorités provinciales, proviennent de l'économie de l'ensemble de notre pays, une économie qui est la même dans tout le Canada. Les droits de douane perçus dans les ports de Québec et de Montréal ne le sont pas sur des produits qui seront écoulés uniquement sur le marché québécois. Ils sont perçus sur des produits qui seront vendus dans toutes les provinces. Les impôts sur les revenus des corporations et sur les revenus des particuliers perçus dans le Québec ne sont pas le résultat de la seule activité économique québécoise, mais bien de l'économie canadienne toute entière. Les grandes entreprises qui, pour des raisons historiques ou accidentelles, ont leur siège social au Québec, n'opèrent pas uniquement dans la province de Québec. Elles font affaire à travers tout le Canada et même à l'étranger. Les taxes de vente perçues sur les marchandises au moment où elles sortent des manufactures frappent des produits qui seront consommés non pas seulement au Québec mais dans les dix provinces du Canada.

39. Ces revenus n'appartiennent donc pas au Québec mais à un Canada confédéré comprenant dix provinces. Si les circonstances politiques devenaient telles qu'elles justifieraient des décisions d'un caractère aussi radical, il ne fait pas de doute qu'en l'espace de quelques semaines les sources d'une grande partie de ces revenus seraient transportées ailleurs. Il n'y a de plus rien qui puisse garantir le Québec contre l'imposition de tarifs discriminatoires si, à la suite d'une sécession, le Canada anglais en venait à la conclusion qu'il serait de son intérêt d'en imposer.

40. Notre opinion est que le partage des impôts est le seul moyen équitable de donner au peuple canadien tout entier le bien-être auquel tous les Canadiens, y compris les Québécois, sont en droit de s'attendre. Peut-être n'est-ce pas suffisant pour satisfaire les tenants du slogan "maîtres chez nous". Tout mouvement sérieux visant à obtenir des changements fondamentaux à la situation actuelle provoquerait cependant, il n'y a pas à en douter, des réactions d'une nature vraiment explosive au Canada anglais. La réponse au dilemme se trouve dans l'historique formule canadienne du compromis, formule qui rallie tout le monde parce qu'on l'aime encore mieux que ce qui pourrait arriver si on n'y avait pas recours.

41. Pour toutes ces raisons, nous sommes fermement opposés à tous ceux qui au Québec veulent rebâtir la constitution. Nous croyons, ainsi que le faisait d'ailleurs remarquer le "Committee for Political Realism", que c'est, de façon générale une lamentable perte de temps. Nous possédons divers instruments constitutionnels qui ont fait leurs preuves; certains d'entre eux ont été utilisés à bonne fin, d'autres ont été mal employés ou le sens en a été déformé. Nous devons continuer à faire l'expérience de la formule qui nous est maintenant familière, n'apportant des modifications à nos lois fondamentales seulement lorsqu'un besoin pressant, bien que d'un caractère limité, ne pourra être satisfait d'aucune autre façon.

42. En passant, permettez-nous de vous faire remarquer que la dichotomie qu'impliquent les requêtes des porte-parole du Québec à l'intérieur même de leur province ne tient aucun compte des aspirations des fortes minorités françaises de l'extérieur du Québec. En réalité, les plans que tracent les "bâtisseurs de constitution" du Québec condamnent leurs compatriotes qui vivent à l'extérieur du Québec aux graves dangers d'une assimilation impitoyable. Toute solution extrême qui pourrait être adoptée par le Québec diminuerait considérablement l'éventualité de la bonne entente dans les autres provinces. Il est bien possible que le Canada anglais ne combattrait pas "la" solution extrême par la force armée. Mais elle susciterait sans aucun doute une hostilité politique qui ne reculerait sur aucun point et ne ferait aucune concession.

43. On croit beaucoup dans la province de Québec que le Canada anglais attend seulement une occasion pour se jeter dans les bras des Etats-Unis. Ceci est une interprétation très fausse non seulement de l'histoire mais du tempérament du Canada anglais. Si la force du Québec lui vient de sa propre forme de nationalisme, la force du Canada anglais réside dans sa volonté de demeurer séparé et distinct des Etats-Unis.

44. Si le Québec, parce qu'il se serait séparé ou aurait réussi à affaiblir le gouvernement central, se trouvait tout à coup seul, il aurait à faire face, croyons-nous, à une situation à laquelle jusqu'ici on n'a que très peu songé. Le facteur le plus constant de la politique canadienne,

celui que l'on retrouve toujours dans les temps bons et mauvais, est le résultat de la pression constante que font peser sur nous les Etats-Unis: que cette pression soit avouée ou non, secrète ou non, cela n'a pas d'importance. Et elle persistera toujours, selon les mêmes tactiques précises que le Canada soit uni ou divisé, faible ou fort, même s'il est l'écho de deux voix. Uni, nous pouvons évidemment nous défendre beaucoup mieux que si notre voisin peut réussir à dresser une partie du Canada contre l'autre. Séparés, chacun de nous est d'autant plus faible qu'il n'a plus l'appui de l'autre, que nous ne parlons plus d'une seule voix. Nous espérons que les conclusions auxquelles en viendra votre Commission seront de nature à renforcer l'unité de notre pays, à la fois sur le plan intérieur et sur le plan extérieur, de façon à ce que nos deux langues et nos deux cultures puissent se développer côte à côte.

45. Nous nous sommes éloignés, on le voit, de la portée stricte du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme. Nous n'en croyons pas moins que le nouvel état de choses, nécessaire dans notre pays, reposera, à sa base même, sur des gestes politiques de compromis, semblables à ceux qui ont mené aux conférences de 1864 et à l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du nord. Nous nous sommes donc permis d'aborder des considérations de nature purement politiques qui, nous semble-t-il, sont à la fois les limites et l'orientation générale de progrès que nous espérons voir s'accomplir dans notre pays.



TITLE: Submission ... To the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

AUTHOR: The Montreal Star

Brief of 14 English/21 French pages; 6 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST: This bilingual brief by Montreal's leading English language daily is essentially a plea for the preservation of Confederation as we know it. Radical constitutional reforms are rejected. Such measures as are proposed are focused on the language problem. These include a Federal Department of minority education (for the French outside Quebec) a bilingual civil service, and appropriate measures by transport, and communications companies. With special emphasis on the national capital. Industry is advised to practice "self-discipline" and pursue preferential hiring policies to correct present racial and linguistic "imbalances" at top level. A similar suggestion is made with respect to the Federal Government.

The Commission is asked to recommend that "language and culture" rather than religion form the basis of educational rights.

ATT.: RESEARCH

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While admitting that "we speak only for ourselves", the Star feels justified in claiming to be a "community" voice ... concerned primarily with the interests, rights and responsibilities of the English-speaking minority in Montreal and Quebec ... secondarily ... with ... policies which will forward the position of Canada as a nation.

The authors are convinced that the "ties" which bind English and French Canada will survive any proposed constitutional changes. Although not seeking "to avoid any place on an overcrowded penitent's bench", they feel that "the apportionment of blame ... has become a matter ... for historians" rather than for those who seek solutions for the problems of Confederation. The latter would have been more tractable "had Quebec asserted itself forty years ago".

SOURCES OF CURRENT ATTITUDES AND ASPIRATIONS - paras 5-12 .. Pages 2-5

The fundamental source of the present conflict has been the industrial development of Quebec on the basis of "American and English-Canadian capital" ... English-speaking management and a French-speaking proletariat. "The problem of communications and others were left unsolved in management's drive for maximum profit." A succession of "complaisant and cooperative" provincial administrations were preoccupied with insignificant issues and eager only for a share of the spoils.

The English-minority, poorly informed by its press included The Star and by the CBC, was thus unprepared for "the political explosions" following the death of Duplessis in 1959. Even Quebec's acquiescence to NATO in 1949 had seemingly signaled the end of controversy over foreign and defence policy involved in the old conscription issue.

The grievances of the French-speaking majority in Quebec (which "we at The Star are in a better position than some English Canadians to understand") are not due to "colonialism"; "the upsurge in Quebec ... (is not) ... a national revolution, or an anti-colonial revolt." The current situation "came about ... almost by historical accident". The relatively "high degree of democracy by 19th century standards" and the balance between "the founding races" at Confederation was upset by the industrial expansion which followed.

Anglo-Saxons "proved more adaptable to an age of industrial capitalist", in terms of their ethnic, ambitions, training, blood and linguistic ties with "the metropolitan power" and "the growing republic next door". French Canada having "taken its stand inside a fortress of traditionalism" entered the industrial age at the labor market rather than entrepreneurial level. The assimilatory power of the Anglo-Saxons increased and replaced that of the French, increasing the population imbalance. "Race myths" are understandable but have obscured the true nature of the process for young French-Canadians.

ENGLISH-SPEAKING RESENTMENTS AND COMPLACENCY - paras 13-19 .. Pages 5-7

Convinced that Anglo-American influence will continue in one form or another, the English minority resents being "a target of abuse" even when it makes efforts "to repair its cooperative cultural failures"

and establish "contacts" with members of the majority community. Long-established and bilingual English-speaking families have become "aliens in the only land ... they know and ... love ... made to feel they represent an alien culture and ... dominance ... strangers in their own land. Rich or poor, they have begun to question their future "as a minority ... in a Quebec which, they believe, becomes more and more narrowly nationalist".

That "they have no complaints regarding the recognition of their rights in the past" and "that they have been ... the best treated minority in Canada", led not to "gratitude and comprehension" but to "complacency" and "a marked disinterest in politics which made change ... when they came, incomprehensible". With a majority psychology, they accorded little to minorities like "the Jewish community here which became a minority inside a protestant community" ... due to "the educational system of the B.N.A. Act which in practice protected English-speaking minority" not via language but via religion.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE - THE MAIN PROBLEM - paras 20-27 Page 8

"... The problem of majority and minority in Quebec is no longer primarily a problem of catholic and protestant but of language and culture." In order to establish equality" the Commission must deal with the question of language rights. French instruction in protestant schools has been neglected. Both because it has been considered unimportant and because religious considerations have absurdly forced protestant school boards to seek teachers abroad while ignoring the "eminently qualified" local supply.

The status of English in the international business world will always remain but much can be done to alleviate "the language griefs". "Courtesy", "goodwill", "corporation policy and repeated publicity" can help solve the idiocy of expecting "a man of French culture in a French-speaking city to leave his native language at home every day and only to take it up after office hours".

Although the Star is against "quotas" for jobs in the private and government sector "something in the nature of conscious preferential hiring of trainees for top jobs may have to be resorted to..." to correct present imbalances. "Self-denying discipline and calculated generosity" by many companies may correct the effect of past social preferences. Outside Quebec and particularly in Ottawa, a similar "self-denying discipline" by "the great communications and transport companies, and the federal government" will prevent humiliation and make Quebecers feel at home outside their own province. Through having "acceptable French... spoken in certain key situations."

FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY - Paras 28-29 Page 9

"...Education of French minorities in the predominantly English-speaking provinces should, by constitutional amendment, become the responsibility of the federal government...". Also...the federal Civil Service, in every sensitive respect, should be bilingual." The first suggestion is essential in order "to get French Canadians out of the "reserve" in which...they now exist," and to provide adequate French education outside Quebec in view of the fact that the type of solution accorded Quebec's English-speaking minority in 1867 is not politically expedient elsewhere in Canada.

MULTILINGUALISM REJECTED - Paras 30-31 Page 9-10

English and French have historic linguistic rights. "It would be in our judgment...a grave mistake to provide special linguistic, legal and constitutional privileges to other racial minorities."

The situation on the Prairies is "a matter of small concern" to the Star. Immigrants must opt for English or French in the interests of "real canadianism."

THE STAR AND "THE QUIET REVOLUTION" - Paras 32-35 Page 10-11

The authors favor the reforms initiated by the LeSage Government since 1960, but fear some of the implications of the slogan "Maîtres chez nous". These may vary from "a narrow chauvinism...of...the violent wing of the separatist movement...towards the centre and...the moderate right," and involve anything from constitutional amendment to "the status of 'an associate state'." The advocates of the latter fail to recognize the benefits of and need for "a strong central government."

RADICAL CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM REJECTED - Paras 36-42 . . Page 11-13

The demand for a reallocation of tax revenues is rejected. These are the product of a national economy itself a product of the Union of 1867. "Tax-sharing remains the only equitable method of providing the Canadian people as a whole with the services which they demand." "...Extremist proponents of "Maîtres chez nous"... (and a...demand for basic change would...evoke a reaction in English Canada of the most serious proportions." Compromise is essential and "we are...opposed to the present wave of constitution-making in Quebec...". Furthermore such demands may condemn the French minority outside Quebec "to the dangers of ruthless assimilation"... "diminish the prospect of accommodation in the other provinces"... (and if)... "not met by armed force from English Canada...would...be...by a political hostility that would give small quarter and no concessions."

QUEBEC MISCONCEPTIONS. Paras 42-44 Page 13-14

English Canada is not waiting for annexation to the United States. "Its determination to remain separate and distinct from the United States" parallels Quebec nationalism.

Spokesmen for Quebec separatism are deluded if they believe that "separated" it will be easier to escape that "constant factor in Canadian politics...the continuous pressure of the United States."

The Commission's task is "to strengthen the union...so that our two languages and our two cultures can flourish together."

CONCLUSION - Para 45 Page 14

"Political acts of compromise" such as those which led to the B.N.A. Act are essential to "the necessary new order of affairs in our country."

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 740-261
The Montreal Star
MONTREAL

A. INFORMATION

1. THE NEWSPAPER

- a) Established 1869 as Independent Newspaper
- b) Circulation approximately 200,000 daily.

2. OBJECTIVES

The Star is concerned with the interests of the English speaking minority in Montreal and Quebec. The Star represents the "community voice" of the minority.

3. PREPARATION OF BRIEF

(We assume this brief was written by Mr. Ferguson himself).

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

1. PROGRAM AND LIAISON SECTION

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| p.1
para.3 | (1) "... Canada as a nation, bound together by ties which will persist in some form or other, through foreseeable time. No constitutional changes, not even a formal separation of English and French Canada, will ever sever completely those ties..."
a) What are these ties?
b) Are they Canadian or North American ties? |
| p.2
para.4 | (2) "... The plain fact is that, had Quebec asserted itself forty years ago"
a) Why should have it been "much more easily manageable 40 years ago?
b) Why is it so difficult now?
c) What brought these difficulties about in the past 40 years?
(The gap between English-speaking management and French-speaking proletariat, or the administrations of Taschereau and Duplessis can only be a part of the explanation).
d) What happened in the rest of Canada re. Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the past 40 years? |
| p.4
para.11 | (3) "... his (English) culture was able to assimilate the new immigrants more readily than the French culture ... " Why? |
| p.5
para.12 | (4) How is the imbalance found in the Quebec situation different from an "exploited colonial" situation? |

pp. 5-6
paras. 15-16

(5) The same problems as Quebec is stating to the rest of Canada; the same questions as Quebec is asking to the rest of Canada. One cannot be answered without the other. Can it?

p.7
para.20

(6) How do you propose that the Commission accomplish equality of language rights in Quebec? (para. 3 of terms of reference does mention this).

p.7
para.23

(7) How can Corporation policy help the spreading of the use of the French language? Take the Montreal Star as an example of a business corporation applying the principle stated in your para. 24 and 25.

p.8
para.26

(8) Which "certain key situations" do you feel would be the cases in point that would satisfy?

p.8
paras.30,31

(9) Have them expand on their opposition to multilingualism.

p.13
para.41

(10) Being opposed to "constitution-making". Would that also make you as being against changes in the Constitution, eg. concerning languages?

p.13
para.41

(11) Which constitutional instruments do they consider well used, mis-used or distorted?

p.13
para.42

(12) "... which condemn their compatriots outside the province to the dangers of ruthless assimilation..."

p.13
para.43

(13) What did the paper do to change that "English Canada is waiting only for a happy opportunity to throw itself into the arms of the United States..." image of a real picture of English Canada 1965?

Would they have any recommendation?

p.13
para.43

(14) Would you be speaking for the whole of English Canada when you are saying that it would not be in a state of mind to join the U.S.

C. RESEARCH SECTION : COMMENTS AND QUESTION

This brief, like so many others, has the interest of reflecting clearly the mind of a certain group on the questions that concern us.

The authors of the Montreal Star brief show themselves well aware of the dangers that lie in extending the controversy to political and economic issues. Nevertheless, like many English-language briefs, this one treats the question as though its solution is merely linguistic and cultural.

- (1) The authors might be asked whether they are aware that many French-Canadians are not willing to so limit the question.

